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The Printer of Jordanus de Quedlinburg, Strasburg, 1481-1502

By VICTOR SCHOLDERER

OF the numerous groups of Strasburg incunabula to which no printer's name can be attached the most important is that which takes its style from an edition of the *Postillae et sermones de tempore* of the Augustinian Jordanus de Quedlinburg issued in 1483 (IB 1803).[1] The press which produced it was already active in 1481, but the Jordanus is probably the first of its books to contain the Strasburg imprint and the date in the colophon, and these two features are scarcely ever thereafter omitted. Fully one hundred editions are comprised in its output—a number equalled by no other Strasburg offices save those of Grüninger and Flach—and most of them are folios of considerable bulk. None are illustrated or embellished by decorative capitals. Seventy of the hundred cater directly for ecclesiastics, volumes of sermons as aids to the parish priest forming the largest subdivision, but neither do the remaining thirty depart

[1] References to books in the British Museum are taken from the section devoted to the Printer of Jordanus in the BMC (vol. i, pp. 130-147). The types are reproduced on plate xiii of the same and on plates 843-853 of the Gesellschaft für Typenkunde.

from the common mediaeval round, unless Johann Reuchlin's Latin dictionary, the *Vocabularius breuiloquus*, can rank as "modern." A single display face and three text faces sufficed the press for all its work and the impression of unity of purpose is strengthened by a peculiarity in the matter of dating: starting with the Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *De Proprietatibus rerum*, completed on St. Valentine's Day, 1485 (IB. 1821), every date is exactly expressed by means of a reference to a saint's day. Although this method was not uncommon in the case of incunabula in the German language,[2] I have not found it elsewhere applied to an all-Latin output and it somehow suggests a peculiarly devout turn of mind in the director of the firm.

The two conjugate text types with which the press started had originally quite separate sets of majuscules. But, as so often happened, the alphabets soon became mixed and in the Jordanus of 1483 this process is already under way. Nevertheless, the small-face fount, which was more frequently used than the other, normally retains the scrolled A and bearded I proper to it until March, 1486, when wear and tear compelled a fresh cast.[3] The first book completed with the new material, Durandus, *Rationale*, 13 July of the same year (IB 1852), shows the printer substituting for the original capitals those proper to the larger face, with the exception of M, which was evidently judged to be too wide and elaborate. This unusual *volte-face* (if I may call it so) accom-

[2] E. g. in those printed by Günther Zainer and Sorg at Augsburg. The Alliaco, *Tractatus et sermones*, dated merely "anno domini. M. ccccxc" (IB 2045), is not a true exception, as it complements the same author's *Quaestiones super libros Sententiarum*, completed "altera die sanctorum martyrum Tiburcii et Valeriani," i. e. 15 April, of this year (IB 2027).

[3] As the Turrecremata, *Quaestiones Evangeliorum*, "sine nota" (IB 1941), shows the type in its early state, it cannot be as late as 1487, as the BMC supposes, but forms a companion volume to the same author's *Expositio Psalterii* of 28 September, 1485 (IB 1843). It is evidently reprinted from the edition published by Amerbach at Basel in the year before (Hain* 15714). The BMC is also mistaken in stating that the Durandus, *Rationale*, of 1488 (IB 1889) contains the large-face type and in assigning 56 instead of 52 lines to the columns of the Bonaventura, *Opuscula*, of 1495 (IB 1963).

plished, the type continues in its new purity, apart from an occasional "rogue," to the end of its career. After March, 1488, however, it seems to have been used only for successive reprints of two "best sellers," the *Legenda aurea* and the *Rationale,* in which the measurements of the earlier editions were retained. Reprints were much favoured by the press, which put forth no fewer than seven editions apiece of the *Legenda aurea* and the *Postilla Guillermi,* six of the *Sermones Dormi secure* attributable to Johannes de Verdena,[4] five or six of Reuchlin's *Vocabularius* and five of the *Rationale.*

The two conjugate founts are far more lively and attractive than the general run of Strasburg faces of the 1480's and no doubt largely contributed to the success of the undertaking. At the same time, the general trend of design was irresistibly moving towards smaller and plainer models, and so, in 1488, we find taken into use a text rotunda of about 80 mm., fully ten millimetres shorter than its predecessors, and of a comparatively simple, if much less interesting face. A fount differing from it only in detail had been introduced into Strasburg by Flach in the year before and other variants soon appeared in the hands of Grüninger and Prüss, and of Quentell at Cologne, Drach at Speyer and Gran at Hagenau following suit a little later. The new type was first employed by the Printer of Jordanus in the earliest of his editions of Reuchlin's *Vocabularius,* completed "in profesto sanctorum martyrum Viti et Modesti," or 14 June, 1488 (IB 2006), being a reprint of Quentell's edition of the previous year (BMC i, p. 271, IB 4538), and it must be admitted that, apart from aesthetic considerations, it is much more suitable for a text of this kind than either of the early types. Its distinctive features at first are narrow N, empty V and single hyphen, but V with double diagonal begins to intrude in

[4] The words "Dormi secure" ("Sleep carefree") refer to the night's rest of the parson who with this volume of model sermons to rely on need fear no discomfiture in the pulpit next morning. This class of homiletic was anathema to the Reformers; Luther in his full-blooded way called *Dormi secure* "asses' droppings, foisted in by the Devil."

the course of the year 1491.[4a] After quiescence in the following year, when only one book (*Legenda aurea*, Proctor †624) issued from the press, it reappears in March, 1493 (IB 1953) with V with double diagonal as the regular form, a change which takes us down to August, 1496 (IB 2072). A crisis must then have developed, as the house produced nothing more for fully two years and its next book, the Blony, *Sermones*, of August, 1498 (IB 1975), is a composite volume, of which more presently. Here the type still relies on V with double diagonal but has been furnished with an appreciably wider N and a double hyphen. This is its final state, still to be seen (with alternative wrong-fount E added) in what is doubtless the printer's last effort, the *Legenda aurea* of 20 December, 1502 (Proctor 9998).

The regular development of the text types, the use of the same display type throughout, the choice of copy and the method of dating all combine to give the impression of one mind directing the press from first to last. Certain anomalies do, however, exist and may be here set out:

(1) *Sermones Dormi secure de sanctis*, 30 March, 1489 (IB 2009). Only the last quire, with the colophon, is in Jordanus types, the rest being in those of Prüss (cf. BMC i, p. 126, IB 1727).

(2) The same, 18 March, 1493 (Hain *15965, IB 1911). Two quires (N, O) are in the types of the Printer of the Casus breves Decretalium.

(3) Gritsch, *Quadragesimale*, 31 December, 1495 (IB 1968). The last seven quires, with the colophon, are in Jordanus types, the rest in those of the Printer of the Casus breves.

(4) Blony, *Sermones*, 23 August, 1498 (IB 1975). Rather more than two thirds (51 of 74 quires), with both colophons, are

[4a] In the Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *De proprietatibus rerum*, of 11 August, 1491 (IB 2060), this form of V is found in three of the last quires (M-O) and both forms in the very last (R), while in the *Vocabularius breuiloquus* of 26 July (Copinger 6295) the infrequent instances of V appear to be all with double diagonal. On the other hand, the *Regimen sanitatis Salernitanum* of 29 December (IA 2063), contains empty V only.

in Jordanus types, eleven quires are in those of Husner and the remaining twelve in types apparently deriving from Grüninger.[5]

(5) *Modus legendi abbreviaturas*, 20-30 August, 1499 (BMC i, p. 172, IB 2563). Only the first leaf of the last quire (the return leaf being blank) is in Jordanus types, the rest suggesting Grüninger, like part of the 1498 Blony (no. 4).[6]

(6) Dionysius Areopagita, *Opera*, 28 April and 15 June, 1502, 21 January, 1503 (Proctor 9997 a,b,c). Large sections, with all three colophons (two dated by saints' days), are in Jordanus types, the rest being again connected with Grüninger.[7]

(7) Bertrandus de Turre, *Sermones de tempore et de sanctis*, "sine nota." (GW 4180). Make-up similar to that of the preceding (no. 6). Probably after 1500.

No clue as to the identity of the Printer of Jordanus seems to be afforded by any document, nor is it likely that the archives which went up in flames at the bombardment of Strasburg in August, 1870, would have told us more. Charles Schmidt, our best authority for the contents of the records, is silent on the point. Does the evidence of the books themselves allow of taking the matter further? The late Ernst Voulliéme thought that it could and devoted a great part of a long and difficult article in the *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* for 1915 (pp. 309-321) to an argument that the man required was Georg Husner. This craftsman,

[5] The BMC failed to distinguish between these sections, an omission first pointed out by Voulliéme, and it also took for granted that the other anomalies here described were peculiar to the Museum copies; this, however, is not the case.

[6] The final colophon is dated "Sexta feria post Bartholomei" in the regular Jordanus manner, whereas the earlier colophon is dated more conventionally "die.xx. mensis Augusti." Was it originally intended that the leaf bearing the final colophon should be printed with Jordanus types so as to appropriate the whole book to the Jordanus press, and was this intention frustrated by a miscalculation as to the blank last leaf?

[7] The components of this book are rather awkwardly assembled, and it may be noted that the last part (quires second a- second v) is a close reprint, including a somewhat heavy copy of the title-cut, of the edition of Ambrogio Traversari's "new translation" completed by Higman and Hopyl at Paris in 1498 (BMC viii, p. 140, IB 40148). The texts of Dionysius (or rather pseudo-Dionysius) consequently appear twice over, once in the old version and once in the new.

who was originally a goldsmith and became a citizen of Strasburg in 1470, signed one book in 1473[8] and two in 1476, and the types which these contain are also found in an unsigned edition of 1479 and in a number of editions "sine nota" to which dates of rubrication or ownership ranging from 1474 to 1481 can be attached.[9] Husner is next traceable in certain books of 1495 and 1496, which, though anonymous, are executed with the same material as the *Tractatus contra vitia* signed by him towards the close of 1498 (BMC i, p. 162, IA 2367), and he was still at work when he died in August, 1505. Voulliéme pointed out that the year 1481, which presumably saw the end of the first phase of Husner's activity, is also that in which the Jordanus press started, and concluded therefrom that Husner was the owner of the new venture.

That Husner played a part in it may readily be granted and is indeed probable, but we can scarcely suppose that he was anything more than its foreman. Nowhere in his career is there any suggestion that he possessed qualifications beyond those of a skilled mechanic, and even the supposition that he acted as permanent foreman runs into difficulties after a while, for in 1493 we have to take account of another anonymous group, the work of the Printer of the Casus breves Decretalium already mentioned (BMC i, pp. 159-161), which comprises some ten books (four dated 1493 and three dated 1494) and all the types of which reappear but slightly altered in Husner's own work in and after the next year, 1495. Voulliéme concurs in Proctor's suggestion that the Printer of the Casus breves was Husner himself. The identification is almost certainly correct, but Voulliéme does not seem to have realized how this affects Husner's supposed ownership of the Jordanus press. The text rotunda of the latter shows constant, if small, deviations from that of the Casus breves group and Husner. Such distinctions are common enough where different owners

[8] In this he was partnered by Johann Beckenhaub.

[9] The date 1470 has been stamped into the copy at the Bibliothèque Nationale of Durandus, *Rationale* (IB 1048), but this is an attempt to deceive; see GW 9117.

are concerned, but if all the material alike belonged to Husner they are much harder to account for. And still less explicable would be his persistence in dating the Jordanus books exactly by saints' days while elsewhere employing this method only once, and that in a reprint of a Jordanus edition.[10] Other objections to the identification so wholeheartedly accepted by Voulliéme might be raised, but these may well be thought sufficient.

In fact, we can scarcely doubt that Husner ceased to have anything to do with the Jordanus press in or about 1492. For whatever reason, the five Strasburg printing houses then active—those of Martin Schott, Grüninger, Prüss, the Printer of Jordanus and Flach—seem to have found life hard at this time. Prüss is not known to have produced anything at all in either 1491 or 1492, nor Schott in 1492, while Grüninger and the Printer of Jordanus dated but one book each in the latter year.[11] Even Flach's output, though less affected, was only half of that of 1491. Under these circumstances Husner may well have been compelled to turn to other work, establishing himself independently when the situation improved. The Jordanus press made a temporary recovery, but after 1496 it was never the same again; the few further books which can be connected with it between that year and its closing down in 1502 reveal it as at any rate in part dependent on the assistance of others. Of the identity of its owner we shall no doubt remain for ever ignorant.

[10] Martinus Polonus, *Margarita Decreti*, "ipsa vigilia natalis domini" (24 December), 1499 (IB 2370), presumably reprinted from the Jordanus edition of 1489 (IB 2015).

[11] The figures for the Printer of Jordanus are: 10 books in 1490; 5 books in 1491; one book in 1492. That arch-enemy of medieval book-production, the plague, does not seem to have been specially active at Strasburg at this time, but we are told that "Anno 1492 galt dass viertel frucht [i.e. corn] 18 schilling, das fuder [of wine] 24 gulden, darüber sturben viel hungers" (D. Specklin, *Collectanea*, ed. R. Reuss [1890], p. 474), which would account in great measure for the recession in that twelvemonth.

Bibliography, Pure Bibliography, and Literary Studies

By Fredson Bowers*

THERE is some value for any scholarly method periodically to examine its principles, its aims and methods, with a view to determining whether it has lost sight of its original objectives and experienced a change of values. The necessity to define, or to re-define, the methods and aims of a field of research is also useful for any individual toiler in the vineyard, for it may serve to raise him, at least momentarily, from concentration on the detailed minutiae to which he must ordinarily apply himself in his research, and by bringing an added consciousness of the purport of what he is engaged in, give to his work a fresh sense of direction. On some occasions it may enforce a recognition that routine has worn ruts which are too deep. But above all, in this specialized society of scholars today when in numerous fields we are coming to know less and less of what our fellows are doing, and why, it is almost incumbent once in a while to try to gather together certain principles of the craft of which we are members for translation into general theories of scholarship. It may be that the statement in plain terms of the objectives of a method or field of research will serve to clarify its position not only to its practitioners but also to those scholars whom it may in one manner or another affect. It may be, also, that a statement in plain terms will arouse such critical objections as to force a reconsideration of the position and thus lead to a valuable reorientation of principles.

* Based on a paper read on May 9, 1952, before the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia in joint meeting with the Bibliographical Society of America.

I am not concerned with explaining or defining the validity of the bibliographical approach to appropriate literary problems. That battle was fought and won many years ago, and there is no value at this late date in adding a "me too" to the clear expositions of Sir Walter Greg and R. B. McKerrow. It seems to me, however (or rather I should say, perhaps, it has been forcibly brought to my attention), that the almost incredibly rapid strides which have taken place of recent years in some special areas of bibliographical research have brought into being not a resistance but rather a sympathetic fear that bibliography is in process of developing into something quite different from its original intent. This is worth examining, even with an enforced brevity, for the objections come as well from within as from without the camp and are concerned with a most significant matter, whether bibliography is losing touch with literary study.

As an example I quote from a review of the third volume of *Studies in Bibliography* by an English bibliographer for whom I have a particular respect (*TLS*, March 23, 1951). I am afraid the subject relates to some statements of mine on the relation of bibliography to editorial problems in a paper read before the English Institute and printed in the *Studies*. On what was the major argument of my paper, that the present-day editor of an early text must learn his bibliography with a thoroughness not previously thought necessary, the reviewer writes, "Thus far, though one may unreasonably yearn to put the clock back, [the] thesis is not controversial." However, I then let slip the leash a bit, and tried to explain how, in my opinion, if one dealt with the two disciplines as absolutes, the practitioners of analytical bibliography should not be restrained by the practical requirements of textual criticism from pushing their researches to the farthest possible boundary. On this matter the reviewer continues with a warning which merits careful attention:

> The immediate and chief aim of bibliographical scholars, [B.] says, is not "to serve as the sons of Martha to textual criticism," and [B.] makes

the same point more forcibly elsewhere—"Textual criticism and analytical bibliography in their purest states are, in my opinion, independent arts which have no relation in their disciplines, or frequently in the subjects with which they concern themselves." If it were pushed too far, this thesis would seem fraught with certain dangers. [A] flair for the solution of technical bibliographical problems could lead able technicians, who lacked . . . literary judgment, to regard analytical bibliography as an end in itself and the solution of such problems as worth-while for their own sake. Such work, it could indeed be argued, was designed to evolve techniques which might possibly have some ultimate practical application. Bibliography may, of course, legitimately concern itself with other things than textual criticism: for example, it may be applied to the definitive description of books and to numerous aspects of *Kulturgeschichte,* such as the evolution of printing, binding and bookselling. In the past, however, it has always been the servant of the humanities. We seem now to be approaching a conception of pure bibliography, written by bibliographers for bibliographers. This is new and rather disquieting, not only to those who lack the ability or the leisure to master strange and highly complicated techniques.

The second quotation, I am afraid, also concerns some of my opinions about bibliographical method, and comes from another distinguished English scholar:

The danger of such elaboration [in bibliographical description] is that it may so widen the division between the bibliographer and the student of literature that it will be impossible even for the textual critic to use without difficulty some of the technical devices now employed in the analysis of the physical makeup of a book; and the expert bibliographer will be tempted more and more to devote himself to the detection of all the possible aberrations of the printer whether they have any effect on the text of the book or not.[1]

When we survey these very temperately stated objections, we see that they both rest on one main point: a fear that bibliography may push itself to such arcane reaches that it will become an end in itself. If this occurs, it is argued, the usefulness of bibliography to literary or humane investigation will be seriously les-

[1] H. J. Davis, "Bibliographica," in *The Year's Work in English Studies: 1949,* ed. F. S. Boas, XXX (Oxford University Press for the English Association, 1951), 238.

sened by the gap that will develop to separate the two fields, hitherto allied. The result will be: (1) bibliography in becoming an end in itself, or a pure science, will tend to concern itself more and more with investigations which have no ultimate application to research in the humanities, thus breaking an established tie; (2) as bibliography tends to become more and more a pure science, the complex techniques that are developed will grow less and less comprehensible to the literary scholar and will eventually reach beyond his ability to utilize; (3) the special language and formulas of highly developed bibliography will preclude the possibility of the use of its results by literary students, who cannot be expected to learn a complex system of technical devices in order to read and understand bibliographical writing.

These objections will strike a responsive chord in many hearts, and hence they must be considered seriously. They are doubtless representative of too large a body of opinion to be brushed aside lightly; and it may be that they are so valid as to create the necessity for bibliography to re-examine its present course and possibly even to modify its future.

However, I hold to the belief that though this critical word of caution is a useful check on possible bibliographical excesses, it is not so basically irreconcilable with the ideals of advanced bibliography as may appear at first sight. I take it, also, that some of the distress exhibited here—to discount the frankly admitted nostalgia for the good old days before the tabby cat of bibliography grew into a tiger—may rest upon some slight misapprehension of the internal divisions within bibliographical research. As a consequence, it is possible that certain technical fields of bibliography are being confused with those whose main purpose is to deal directly and critically with literature or to serve as an immediate foundation for such study. In other words, whether we are arguing for or against the present course of bibliographical research, it is necessary to understand what we mean by *bibliography*, for a view applicable to one of its branches may have small

pertinence applied to another. In fact, *bibliography* is now too general a term to attempt to discuss as such without confusion. We can find common ground only by specifying what branch of bibliography is in question.

With some deliberate simplification, therefore, let me suggest that the major, but by no means mutually exclusive, compartments within the far too general term *bibliography* are these:

(1) The construction of lists of books and writings on various subjects. This common and extremely useful form of bibliographical endeavor I should like to distinguish as *enumerative* or *compilative bibliography*, and thereafter to drop it from consideration since it has no bearing on our present enquiry and has not been brought into question.

(2) Enquiries into the evolution of printing (including typefounding and paper-making), binding, book ownership, and bookselling. I distinguish this as *historical bibliography* and suggest that we limit this field as much as possible according to its historical intent. That is, I take it we should include here all biographical and historical studies of printers, papermakers, binders, typefounders, engravers, publishers, booksellers, and anyone else in any way concerned with the materials and the production of the book and its subsequent dissemination. Under the history of such I should also include studies of costs and prices, methods of sale and distribution; studies of the meaning of imprints, colophons, copyright entries, and of advertisements; all aesthetic studies of printing and its materials as an art; all studies of sizes of editions from the collateral evidence of publishers' records or other external material; all investigation into the circumstances of literary composition which have any relation to the physical form of the literary work, the transmission of literary documents, and the relation of authors to the commercial process of publication. It is difficult to limit this grouping narrowly, but let us say very much

in general that it concerns itself chiefly with the discovery and interpretation of external evidence.

In between this section and the next there is an intermediate group about which opinions as to the placement may well differ. I refer to such studies as Hodnett's of woodcuts, McKerrow's and Ferguson's of printer's devices, or Miller's of ornaments,[2] the purpose being to identify ownership, establish dating, and trace deterioration, recutting, and copying. Studies of watermarks, their forms, places, and dates, such as by Briquet, Churchill, Heawood, and Stevenson are analogous, as are the type studies of Isaac. In one sense these are historical studies; in another, the investigation may verge on the analytical. But some idea of what I assume to be an essential difference, at least in their pure states, may be exhibited if one compares the largely historical and compilative study of watermarks in A. H. Stevenson's "Watermarks are Twins" [3] with his earlier and strictly analytical investigation of the bibliographical evidence afforded by watermarks for determining the order of sheets through the press, the use of one or of two presses, and the size of an edition-sheet.[4] Another example would be the establishing of the date of a book by the historical method of aligning it with publishers' advertisements versus the more analytical method of placing its ornaments on evidence of wear or fracture within a dated series of books in which they also appear.

(3) This distinction may serve to introduce the third major grouping, covered under the term *analytical bibliography*. In general I define this as technical investigation of the printing of specific books, or of general printing practise, based exclusively on the physical evidence of the books themselves, not ignoring,

[2] C. W. Miller, "Thomas Newcomb: A Restoration Printer's Ornament Stock," in *Studies in Bibliography*, III (1950), 155-170.

[3] *Studies in Bibliography*, IV (1951), 58-91.

[4] "New Uses of Watermarks as Bibliographical Evidence," *Studies in Bibliography*, I (1948), 151-182.

however, what helpful correlation may be available with collateral evidence.[5] It is possible to give only a selection of the various lines of investigation that have developed, such as the detection and explanation of cancels and of reprinted sheets of all kinds; the detection and explanation of any departure from normal printing practise within a book; determination of the order of the formes through the press and of the number of presses engaged on a book at any one time, with an identification of the formes and sheets printed by each; the analysis of press-figures, running-titles, and watermarks as bearing on the above, as well as the evidence for different compositorial activity; identification of the date of undated or misdated books by such internal physical evidence unrelated to the readings of the text, including the evidence of its materials (as in the Carter and Pollard study of the Wise forgeries); identification of the printers when more than one participated in a book; and so on.

It is worth emphasis that this analytical method operates only on the physical evidence of the book, and generalizes from that. It is far from true, however, that a book with blank leaves would serve as well, except for the most elementary of analytical operations. What is important is that the impressed symbols which are letters and words are treated in a physical and not in a literary way. (I think it was Sir Walter Greg who once remarked that it

[5] It is a feature of bibliography that in practise the methods of its different disciplines frequently overlap. Thus *critical*, or *textual bibliography* will often call on the help of *analytical*, as will *historical*; or *analytical* will merge with *historical*, and *descriptive* with both. As an example, my recent identification of Robert Roberts as the printer of the first section of the Shakespeare Fourth Folio rested exclusively on the identification of his ornamental initial letters. The investigation was historical insofar as this was necessarily related to the records of his printing with and without his sometime partner Anne Maxwell and his relations with a certain group of publishers. But it was analytical in respect to the attempt to claim these initials exclusively for Roberts, despite the fact that they had appeared in a book with a Thomas Newcomb imprint, by showing that the book in question was printed in two sections. Analysis based on physical evidences of the printing process was also necessary to show that the Folio was also not printed as a continuous operation in the same shop, and thus to limit that part printed by Roberts, with the further object of showing that he also printed the preliminaries as well as the first section of text. See *Shakespeare Quarterly*, II (1951), 241-246.

should make little difference to analytical studies whether a book were printed in Sanskrit or in English.) Without regard for the meaning conveyed by these symbols, the method of typesetting, punctuating, and spelling the text may provide evidence for analytical procedures, in revealing the presence of one or more compositors from spelling tests or typographical characteristics, without any consideration whatever for the meaning of the words or for their correctness.

An illustration may be helpful. In *The Manuscript of Shakespeare's* HAMLET (I,98) Dover Wilson assigns only one compositor to the Q2 *Hamlet* "because the imperfections of this text are so uniformly distributed throughout that it is hardly conceivable that they belong to two different workmen." This is not a bibliographical statement, for the imperfections chiefly cited are omissions of words, and misreadings, which have been assigned as imperfections on purely literary evidence, such as their effect on meaning in Q2 or their inferiority to the corresponding reading in the Folio. Strict analytical bibliography, on the contrary, would endeavor to ascertain whether the pattern of the running-titles indicated the possibility that more than one press printed the book. The answer to this question could have a direct bearing on the matter of its composition. If only one skeleton-forme were employed throughout, we should never expect two compositors setting in alternation to speed the work, but the pattern would not necessarily preclude the possibility that another workman took over composition at any point. On the other hand, if we found that the book was divided into two sections marked by differences in the settings of the running-titles, and thus by new skeleton-formes, we should expect two workmen each setting a part simultaneously; and we might be able to confirm the evidence of the running-titles by detecting a difference in the length of the printers' measure used in each section. Or we might find such an alternating pattern of four skeleton-formes as to be inexplicable if only one compositor and press were employed. If,

thereupon, we verged on another possible form of bibliography and showed by spelling tests the real assignment of one or more compositors, we should have a bibliographical case utilizing evidence of a completely different nature from that which Wilson customarily employs.[6]

(4) This pure form of analytical bibliography lies in back of and leads directly into two other divisions: *descriptive bibliography* and what I should like to distinguish as *critical* or *textual* bibliography.[7] The function of *descriptive bibliography* is to examine a book by all the methods of analytical bibliography in order to arrive at a total comprehension of the maximum physical facts as a preliminary to writing these up in set terms as a definitive physical description of the book, its external appearance, and the internal evidence bearing on the details of this external appearance. There is some need to emphasize that descriptive bibliography which is not based on analytical is practically useless, for it is as important to explain the reason for the peculiarities as it is to give the external facts about them; and, truly, the external facts often cannot be properly described until analytical bibliography has provided the reasons for their existence.[8]

(5) I shall try to define *critical* or *textual bibliography* as the application of the evidence of analytical bibliography, or at least of

[6] The bibliographical gap in Wilson's evidence is that he makes an initial non-bibliographical assumption that the 'imperfections' are compositorial and then uses this assumption, with circular logic, to argue that only one compositor set the text. He does not demonstrate that, in fact, the 'imperfections' were not in the copy, for if they were, they could have been uniformly distributed throughout the text even though more than one workman was engaged in the typesetting. What the truth is in the Q_2 *Hamlet* I do not know, for the matter has not been investigated. My only concern is to indicate certain differences in the method of attack between the literary and the bibliographical approach to a problem.

[7] *Critical* is often applied, especially in England, to what I have called *analytical* bibliography.

[8] An elementary example would be the fact that a descriptive bibliographer must discover whether an odd number of leaves in a gathering is the result of excision or of addition before he can construct an accurate collational formula for the book.

its pertinent methods, to textual problems where meaning of some sort is involved and where it does make a difference whether a book is printed in English or in Sanskrit. The analytical basis for critical bibliography is usually the bibliographer's experience with the details and characteristics of the printing process interpreted in terms of its specific application to text. This process can take many forms, but a few typical illustrations may serve to indicate what I mean. When Dr. Williams demonstrated on the physical evidence for the method of printing the book, chiefly its pattern of running-titles, that the cancellans fold in the 1609 *Troilus and Cressida* containing a new title-page and an added foreword was not a later substitution as commonly thought but instead that it was printed at the same time as the rest of the book, and as an integral part of the final sheet,[9] he was engaging in pure analytical bibliography. When, on another occasion, he demonstrated that the Folio used as copy an annotated 1609 quarto and not an independent manuscript,[10] he was dealing with critical bibliography since his evidence was the form of the text itself insofar as it related to common typographical features in the two editions which could be explained rationally only by the fact that one was printed from the other. A similar investigation was that of Sir Walter Greg, who demonstrated that the Folio printer's copy for *King Lear* was the Pied Bull quarto on the evidence that it followed certain uncorrected states of the quarto's press-variant formes.[11] As a further example one can cite the evidence based on the physical facts of typesetting used by Dr. Hinman (with no regard for the goodness or badness of the readings) to demonstrate that Q2 *Othello* had merely reprinted the Folio for the added

[9] "The Second Issue of *Troilus and Cressida*, 1609," *Studies in Bibliography*, II (1949), 25-33.

[10] "Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida:* The Relationship of Quarto and Folio," *Studies in Bibliography*, III (1950), 131-143.

[11] *The Variants in the First Quarto of* KING LEAR (London, The Bibliographical Society, 1940), pp. 18-39, expanding and confirming the earlier discovery by P. A. Daniel.

lines not found in Q1 and had not utilized an independent manuscript.[12]

I have suggested some major differences elsewhere between textual criticism and analytical bibliography,[13] and therefore need not belabor the point again except by summarizing my belief that textual criticism concerns itself with words and their meanings, with stylistic and linguistic considerations, and with basic questions of authority in text both in whole and in part. Pure analytical bibliography, on the other hand, deals with books and their texts as material objects and forms manufactured by the mechanical process of printing, and therefore has no proper concern with meaning in texts. The two may join, and even become inextricably mingled, in certain reaches of textual bibliography. Again, an illustration or two may be useful. If a scholar collates a series of editions and on the basis of their readings alone decides their genetic relationship and order, I take it that he is engaging in simple textual criticism. That is, edition B is derived from edition A and not from an independent manuscript. Edition C follows various unique readings in B and therefore derives from B, not A. Edition D follows the unique readings of B, but not the unique readings of A or of C, and therefore derives from B, and so on. Ordinarily a study of this sort can be made with no bibliographical training whatsoever.[14] But when, as with Shakespeare's *King*

[12] "The 'Copy' for the Second Quarto of *Othello*," *Joseph Quincy Adams Memorial Studies* (Washington, D. C., Folger Shakespeare Library, 1948), pp. 373-389.

[13] *Studies in Bibliography*, III (1950), 37 ff.

[14] In this statement there is, of course, a weak link, in that readings alone could never positively demonstrate that edition B derived from A and not from a manuscript. The exact demonstration must always be made on such bibliographical evidence as the fact that one is a page-for-page reprint of the other, or demonstrates precise typographical links with the other. In some complex cases readings alone, without a bibliographical explanation, may prove an uncertain guide. For instance, a late edition of Dryden's *Indian Emperour* is not clearly derived from either of its two immediate predecessors but takes over unique readings from each. The ordinary solution of pure textual criticism would be to posit a lost intermediate edition. Bibliography, however, demonstrates that two compositors alternated in setting the text, one using one edition and the other the other. See J. S. Steck, "Dryden's *Indian Emperour:* The Early Editions and their Relation to the Text," *Studies in Bibliography*, II (1949), 147.

Lear or Dryden's *Wild Gallant*, the genetic relationship is in fact indeterminate from the readings in this manner and the evidence rests on the fact that one physical state of a given variant edition was followed in certain readings rather than the readings of another physical state (again with no regard for meaning), we have a different order of evidence which is within the province of critical bibliography. Dr. Cauthen's paper today is also, I think, an illuminating example of the assistance which critical bibliography, based on analytical, can offer to textual criticism in the attack on the crucial problem of sorting out the compositorial variants in the Folio text of *King Lear* from the legitimate scribal annotations written in the quarto printer's copy.[15] This brings the question of authority down from the general plane, as in the proof that the Folio was set from a specific quarto, to the examination for authority of each individual variant between the two texts.

The above is a most incomplete and sketchy account; but I must pass on to the main point of this paper. If the five major divisions, as I understand them, are generally valid within the field of bibliography—even though admittedly they are not watertight—then I hope that recognition of the functions of these divisions will somewhat help to clarify the relation of bibliography as a whole to literary studies. Each one of these divisions may have some ultimate application to literary problems, but the relationship is much more intimate for some than for others. It would seem, then, to be an unduly narrow view which would lump all these different disciplines together and to demand that each be as immediately applicable as the others. I fancy Mr. Hodnett when he was engaged with the lengthy process of collecting the materials for his historical account of English woodcuts would have felt it somewhat beside the point to justify his labors by their usefulness in any immediate application to study of the humani-

[15] I. B. Cauthen, Jr., "Compositorial Determination in the First Folio *King Lear*," *Studies in Bibliography*, V (1952).

ties. Dr. McKerrow and Mr. Ferguson were intent on adding a contribution to the clarification of publishing history, and nothing else one would think, when they collected and analyzed ornamental devices. They could not have been unaware, of course, that on some rare occasions by a tortuous chain of circumstances their results could assist in some general problem of text. But I am inclined to suspect that this vague eventuality was not a very important inspiration to their investigations. May we not, perhaps, admit quite reasonably that pure historical bibliography should pursue its research into publishing and printing history without our worrying whether it is becoming an end in itself which mistakes the solutions of its peculiar problems as worthwhile for their own sake?

Let us, then, look at analytical bibliography. Now if my attempt to delimit this field is at all legitimate, it may follow that some of the fears that analysis is becoming too pure to have a general usefulness stem from a failure to distinguish analytical from textual, or critical, bibliography. If I am at all right, I should like to view analytical bibliography as by definition a pure method, and critical bibliography as its application to immediate and specific problems. If this view be accepted, it must follow that analytical bibliography should be allowed to pursue its own investigations in its own way without being forced to justify itself, at least as a principle, by the necessity for practical application in the service of humane studies. So long as its results filter down through critical bibliography to assist in literary study, as they most certainly do, we should not worry whether it is becoming an end in itself, for in the course of time every fresh conquest of knowledge finds its application. When one is dealing with pure research and trying to find the principle behind assorted and apparently disparate pieces of evidence, it seems to me quite impossible to distinguish between technical problems the solution of which is worth-while only in itself as a kind of virtuoso performance and those in which the value consists of a clearly perceived ultimate literary appli-

cation. In fact, from what experience I have had in this matter, I should deny that any such distinction exists. To a research student a problem is a problem; and a human being fortunately being an animal afflicted with acute curiosity, a true research student cannot rest until he has solved a problem which confronts him. I have a great respect for pure curiosity: if we are to believe our folklore, such curiosity led to the discovery of the law of gravity. Astronomy is no less a respectable science and its concern no less pertinent with whether we are involved in an expanding universe because, as Raphael pointed out to Adam, the application of such information to human affairs is rather obscure.

But this is mere dialectic. Let us instead try to face certain facts without self-deception. It has always been a cornerstone of belief that bibliography is the servant of the humanities. I believe this is true and demonstrable. Yet we are only confusing ourselves if we fail to see the obvious fact that certain branches of bibliography are more related to pure research than other branches which have a nearer degree of immediate and practical usefulness. If we are willing to face the truth that no knowledge or love of literature is of material assistance (except as a spur) to the solution of the technical problems which analytical bibliography in its pure state has always set itself, we shall come to the accurate conclusion that it is not itself essentially a literary study no matter how applicable its findings prove to be in the solution of literary problems. The full implications of Sir Walter Greg's remark that [analytical] bibliography is exclusively concerned with the book as a material object have never been properly recognized. If one thinks of a book as a material object, for the purposes of analytical bibliography there is not the slightest difference between a unique first-edition quarto of Shakespeare and the most worthless ephemeral pamphlet of the time.[16] In fact, for the analytical evidence it yields, the pamphlet may be much more valuable than the Shakespeare.

[16] One must handle the first rather more carefully, of course.

I am talking now in terms of absolutes, for anything less can lead only to confusion. It has been in general true in the past that those who engaged themselves to analytical investigations had earlier had a primary concern with literature, or at least busied themselves as much as possible in turning their analytical results into practical application to literary studies. So far as I can see this is still the case; moreover, I know of no analytical bibliographers who are not either professors of English literature or at least professed students and admirers of literature. But it must be emphasized that this has come about only through certain historical circumstances and need not of necessity be the rule for the future. The discipline is a technical study of a material object divorced from its content, and as such might easily fascinate anyone with a logical turn of mind no matter what his opinions about the humanities. There is nothing we can do about it, and nothing we need do, for it is not a dangerous situation so long as we have critical bibliography to translate the results of pure research into practical application to literature. No scientist would dream of fearing that pure research would become an end in itself, for by its nature it cannot do otherwise; hence I fail to see why literary men should be concerned about the natural course of analytical bibliography, which by its nature is truly written for other bibliographers and not for literary students. Moreover, I think it true that just as the advances of applied science have usually been predicated on the discoveries of pure science, so the astonishing new methods by which critical bibliography can attack problems of text have descended directly from the complex and non-literary work of the analytical bibliographers.

Why, then, has the future of analytics become disquieting even to clear-sighted scholars? There is, I think, at least a partial answer. Analytical bibliography finds its practical application in, first, descriptive bibliography and, second, critical bibliography, which is now a necessary supplement to textual criticism. By using the resources of historical and of analytical bibliography, descrip-

tive bibliography attempts to set in order the basic materials for literary scholarship not only by the discovery of their maximum extent but also by establishing their proper relationship, their internal variants, and last by defining all these matters within the formula of a description. The major justification for this applied scholarship is undoubtedly its usefulness, indeed its necessity, for accurate results in humane studies. So far as this is true, it is certainly an obligation on the part of the bibliographer to state the immediately essential results of his findings in terms that can be understood by a literary student willing to make a reasonable attempt to comprehend them. On the other hand, if a literary student is unwilling to read his McKerrow to achieve an elementary knowledge of the basic printing processes which are being described as part of the procedure of adequately defining a volume under scrutiny, then he has no business coming to such a bibliography for this definition and should content himself with the more general information purveyed in it.

I rather imagine that the greatest uneasiness concentrates on the apparent complexities of the collational-formula system for describing the makeup of a book first proposed by Sir Walter Greg[17] and successfully used by him in his great *Bibliography of the English Drama to the Restoration.* The more immediate source of discomfort, however, may well be my own efforts, as a disciple, to fill-in and slightly elaborate certain features of this system to take account of various bibliographical peculiarities which might be met with by a descriptive bibliographer. The only question, then, is whether this system is too complex to be understood with reasonable effort by those literary students who are competent to make use of the information which it endeavors to crystallize. On this one can only say that time alone will tell. I myself feel that the apparent horrors vanish on slight acquaintance with the few logical principles and symbols underlying the system, and I will guarantee to teach any student in under two hours, no matter how

[17] "A Formulary of Collation," in *The Library,* 4th ser., XIV (1934), 365-382.

slight his bibliographical knowledge, to read the most tolerably complex collational formula he is ever likely to encounter in the normal course of events. It takes rather longer, however, to teach one to write these formulas, but that is not the point of criticism. Thus I am still inclined to stand by a statement earlier made, "In actual truth the characters employed in standard description are very few and readily learned; the various shortcuts are so clear in principle and construction that no extraordinary intelligence is needed to decipher them correctly after only the briefest acquaintance, provided the reader has a minimum knowledge of the makeup of books."[18]

The technical devices which may cause difficulty for the literary student need not be confined to the collational formula, however, although it is a little difficult to think of others, outside of the running-title analysis, perhaps. On this ground I should be willing to lock horns with critics, whatever the devices are, for though it may be the major purpose of a descriptive bibliography to serve the students of literature, it is surely confining a bibliography's usefulness excessively to insist that it have no other purpose. I have elsewhere given various arguments why it is necessary and even essential for bibliographies to be written in part with bibliographers in mind,[19] and so shall not press the point save to remark that in such portions of a description as come in this category, the literary student is missing nothing of immediate importance to him if he quite sensibly skips it. He has been served, and the ensuing analysis is aimed at a different audience.

I do not really like to debate these matters, but the concluding portion of Mr. Davis's remarks call for comment since they do him less than justice; he writes that if the tendency towards elaboration in descriptions persists, "the expert bibliographer will be tempted more and more to devote himself to the detection of all

[18] *Principles of Bibliographical Description* (Princeton, N. J., Princeton University Press, 1949), p. 28.

[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 9-15.

the possible aberrations of the printer whether they have any effect on the text of the book or not."

Here opinions may well differ, but I should like to clarify the point. So far as I understand the principles of bibliographical description as narrowly applied to a single book, it has three main purposes: (1) It attempts to describe the physical characteristics of an edition of a book within a conventional framework of detail and precision in order to distinguish that particular edition from every other edition; (2) Having established the distinguishing characteristics of the edition as a whole, it then attempts to describe every variant form of this edition, as issue and state, in order to prevent internal confusion of minor characteristics; (3) Whenever possible it thereupon attempts to analyze the printing process which produced the internal variants described within the edition. It is worth pointing out that some of the bibliographically very important variants within an edition such as cancellation or press-alteration of a title-page have little or no effect on the text as such, though they are emphasized even by the most elementary bibliographer.

When we come to the aberrations of the printer, in all possible forms, I have no clear idea of what Mr. Davis has in mind. Hence I must resort to two generalities. First, as with the description of variant title-pages, at least some part of bibliographical description is not concerned with the state of the text but instead with the publishing history of the volume. Second, it is also necessarily concerned with the printing history, for without a prior analysis of this an accurate description cannot be written. The details of the printing history may or may not ultimately be brought to bear on textual considerations by an expert (the direct application is no part of the descriptive bibliographer's duties), but if there is the slightest chance that any detail of this history, as known only to the bibliographer of the book, could have such an application, the bibliographer is surely derelict to his duty if he suppresses the information.

Now we come to the nub of the matter. If, as Mr. Davis appears to suggest, the bibliographer takes it upon himself to decide which printing peculiarities can be utilized for textual studies and which not, and on that basis provides some information and suppresses other, he will be constructing a bibliography sure to be superseded in the future, for it is given to no man to know at any stated time what evidence is pertinent and what not. One reason why we have so many bad descriptive bibliographies is that the compilers omitted much information because they did not see its usefulness, and the techniques for bringing this evidence to bear on text had not yet been invented. With sixteenth- and seventeenth-century books there is perhaps no single piece of bibliographical evidence of more concern to textual critics than the evidence for composition and for proof-correction afforded by the running-titles. In the eighteenth century there is no single piece of evidence more valuable for differentiating mixed and closely similar editions and, within them, their variant impressions, than press-figures.[20] Yet McKerrow in his *Introduction* ignored the first and remarked of press-figures that they seemed to have no bibliographical significance. Since even so great a bibliographer in these matters could not be ahead of his time, we who follow cannot have the presumption to expect that we are ahead of ours and that we shall not provoke the impatience, or the pity, of future generations for our incredible failure to see the significance of evidence in front of our noses. Mr. Davis would encourage us to take too complacent a view of our omniscience, but I fear that in this specific matter he is mistaken. In fact, I can give an example. Until A. H. Stevenson with startling ingenuity showed the direct application of watermarks in paper to the bibliographical analysis of the printing of a book,[21] I shared with other bib-

[20] The revolutionary series of studies in this matter by William B. Todd begun in his "Observations on the Incidence and Interpretation of Press Figures," *Studies in Bibliography*, III (1950), 171-205, have effectively demonstrated the primary value of this evidence.

[21] *Studies in Bibliography*, I (1948), 151-182.

liographers some knowledge of the more elementary uses to which the evidence of watermarks might be put but thought it of insufficient account to warrant the recording of these watermarks in descriptive bibliography. Now, in spite of the enormous difficulties I see in the process of such recording, I am convinced that it will be a future necessity for any really detailed bibliography, for we are only on the threshold of knowing how this new method may be used in the future. Similarly, the researches into the evidence of press-figures by W. B. Todd should show us the way to enjoy the blessings rather than the curses of future generations by being copious in our descriptions of "all possible aberrations of the printer" no matter how little we may understand their bibliographical (which is only to say their future textual) significance in our limited moment.

If, then, we may dismiss a fear of technical descriptive bibliography, which is in course of absorbing some of the lessons from its analytical progenitor long overdue, may we not bring equal confidence to charting the future of critical bibliography, the second derivative from analytical. Here I must restate my prime assumption that it is the chief purpose of critical bibliography to translate the pure end-in-itself findings of analytical bibliography into direct application to literary study. This will, of course, chiefly be in connection with problems of text both of a general and of a specific nature. It is clear that this translation can be achieved only by those among the analytics who are interested in both divisions of bibliography or else by the pure textual bibliographers constantly keeping pace with analytical methods not as an independent field of research for them but as a necessary understanding on which to develop their own method. In practise there need be little reason to fear a lack of communication. Since analytical bibliographers do not work by ratiocination in a void but instead with material books, they often cannot help solving textual problems in the simple course of analyzing the printing

history of a book.[22] In fact it is almost impossible to stay away from text in pursuing evidence to its ultimate conclusions. Hence even the most arrant technicians of the future will be unable to avoid applying their findings to text on many occasions, since that often represents the most complex technical problem for ingenuity to solve. And critical bibliographers, since it is their only excuse for existence, will need to be peculiarly apt in picking up hints in this direction. It does not really seem that we have much to fear if analytics sometimes appears to be going off on its own. Its primary concern is not with text, but somehow it can never for long avoid the problem.

Where the danger lies, in my opinion, is in quite another direction. In my paper on bibliography and editorial problems I attempted to comment on this, and so shall be brief here. I have a great respect for the possibilities, still largely unexplored,[23] of applying critical bibliography to knotty textual problems, but some practical experiences as an editor have convinced me that, though it is the only basic method, it is not an invariably complete one. In other words, critical bibliography does not comprise in itself the whole of textual criticism by a long shot, and any claims

[22] If I may be forgiven an example from my own experience, I came upon the fact in the course of investigations for a descriptive bibliography that John Banks's *Cyrus the Great*, 1696, had three sheets which existed in two quite different type-settings. Since I hold that a descriptive bibliographer must not only record but also classify, order, and explain, it was incumbent on me to demonstrate which setting was the initial one. Before I had finished doing this to the best of my ability, I was forced to run the gamut of a particularly complex and technical explanation of the printing which made use of various bibliographical arguments which could only be incomprehensible to a literary student. The end result, however, was — I hope — a determination of which setting was made from manuscript and which was a mere reprint, without which information an editor could not properly tackle the text. Any pure analytical technician — which I am not — would have been forced to follow the same course and eventually end with the text. See, for the horrid example, *Studies in Bibliography*, IV (1951), 174-182. As a similar instance, the bibliographical investigation of the evidence of running-titles, with which I have been in part connected, began purely for the technical problem they posed. Shortly, the research led in direct path to the application of the printing process they revealed to the textual question of proof-reading.

[23] Some suggestions as to lines of exploration were made in my paper "A Definitive Text of Shakespeare: Problems and Methods" recently read before the Shakespeare Conference at the University of Miami and scheduled for future publication.

that it is more than a basic approach to textual criticism should be vigorously combatted. On the other hand, pure textual criticism as such, without a basis in critical bibliography, is no longer a discipline to inspire utter confidence.

It follows that to produce the best texts critical bibliographers must learn as well as they can the highly developed methods of textual criticism to implement their own work when they turn editors. Correspondingly, textual critics must learn their essential bibliography in a manner not previously thought necessary if their results are to stand up under any searching scrutiny. There are times when after the most scrupulous bibliographical examination, only refined textual criticism can lend authority to a decision.[24] But decisions of textual criticism made without reference to bibliography may too often be exposed as futile guesswork. One may not unreasonably yearn to turn the clock back to simpler days, before the complexities attending the definitive treatment of a text were recognized, but to do so is to invite the dodo.

I take this view the more seriously because, though I welcome scientific method where it is applicable, I am distressed by the overweening claims which are made for it when it comes into conflict with the higher values of the humanities. The methods of critical bibliography at least parallel the scientific method and to that extent partake both of its strength and of its weakness, with the latter powerfully reënforced on occasion by the inescapable fact that critical bibliography must deal with a text which was both written and printed by a human being, and is therefore subject at every step in its path to the unknowable and aberrant human equation, no matter how material the form of the text, in a manner denied to neutrons and protons. This is where the higher values of textual criticism must not be lost if we are to avoid mechanical texts of which the best that can be said is that they do least harm. But if we are to continue to receive saving grace from

[24] In this class I should place the *sallied-solid flesh* crux in *Hamlet*, since the strict bibliographical argument for *sallied* may be very slightly suspect.

the higher values of textual criticism, it must be on different terms than before, and in that respect the pressure is on textual criticism to understand and to utilize where applicable the newer semi-scientific method.

Insofar as critical bibliography, stemming from analytical, is a scientific method, it can secure good results within its natural limitations. Nevertheless, as a scientific method, if too sweepingly applied it cannot fail to ignore certain higher values which only pure textual criticism can preserve, and these are values we should not willingly forfeit. The scientific method should have its valued place in humane studies, but as a servant, not the master. The current exaltation of the scientist in other fields should not lead to his domination of the humanities. Yet the processes of logical and material demonstration which the more scientific bibliographical methods bring to literary studies cannot be idly surveyed from an ivory tower or they will eat away its foundations and topple it. A new form of scholarship is reaching its majority. Literary students must now make the necessary efforts to understand it and thus to absorb it into the larger stream of the humanities.

Paulus Manutius and His First Roman Printings

By Curt F. Bühler

HAVING determined, upon the urging of no less a personage than Pope Pius IV, to quit Venice in favor of Rome, Paulus Manutius left the Republic in the early days of June, 1561. By September, Aldus' third son (the successor to his business) had established his residence at the Palazzo d'Aragonia not far from the famous Trevi fountain, sacred to all tourists for its (reputedly) miraculous power of guaranteeing them a return visit to the Eternal City. On the sixteenth of the same month, Paolo Manuzio (as the Italians prefer to call him) had already obtained his Roman citizenship (cittadinanza). Since it is a matter of record that he issued books from his new firm early in 1562, we can well believe that Paolo wasted no time in setting up his press and outlining a publication schedule. The very first books put out by the "Aldine press" in Rome (probably in February, 1562) were two issues of great historical and political importance and interest, being closely connected with contemporary England, the Tudors, the Reformation and its attendant Counter-Reformation. These first productions were the *De Concilio* and the *Reformatio Angliae* by Cardinal Reginald Pole, former Archbishop of Canterbury, and it is some new information about these two books which provides the material for the present study.

I

The fact that Paulus Manutius printed more than a single edition of the *De Concilio* in 1562 has long been known and is cited

by such bibliographers as Renouard, Lowndes and Barberi. In their accounts, however, both Continental scholars make such curious bibliographical statements that these notes apply to no known edition of the *De Concilio*. Renouard (*Annales de l'imprimerie des Alde*, Paris, 1834, p. 490) asserted that, following folio 64, the first edition had "dix feuillets d'*errata*," while Francesco Barberi (*Paolo Manuzio e la stamperia del Popolo Romano*, Rome, 1942, p. 112, n. 7) claimed that "l'esemplare da me esaminato ha una sola riga di *errata*." Furthermore, Barberi misquoted, on the same page, the English bibliographer: "Il Lowndes registra due differenti ristampe, ambedue datate: Roma, 1562 'la prima avente 10 righe di *errata* dopo la parola *finis*; la seconda corretta e pertanto senza di esse.' " Lowndes, however, did not affirm that there were two *reprints* (ristampe) of 1562 making a total of three editions for the year, but only that two editions in all were produced that year in Rome; for this point, compare his *The Bibliographer's Manual of English Literature* (London, 1857-1864), IV, 1905.

Barberi's insistence that the copy of the *De Concilio* seen by him had but a single line of *errata* rather than the ten lines actually present in copies of the first edition may well have a very simple explanation. What the Italian scholar probably saw was a copy of the *De Concilio* which had (as is often the case) the *Reformatio Angliae* bound after it. The first edition of this latter tract, as we shall see, does indeed have a single line of *errata* at the end, and if Barberi had only hastily glanced at the last printed page of a volume containing both works, he might easily have concluded that the single line of *errata* (proper for the *Reformatio Angliae*) applied to the *De Concilio*. The two works by the Cardinal are typographically very similar and they were obviously designed to be sold either separately or together. Indeed, the three copies of the *Reformatio Angliae* personally examined by this writer are all bound behind the *De Concilio*, where they can easily be overlooked and taken as part of the first tract. Thus the copy of the *De Concilio* in the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid has the *Reformatio Angliae*

bound with (and after) it, though the card catalogue of the library, in October 1951, failed to indicate that a copy of the second tract was to be found in the national library of Spain.

It is clear that the demand for and the sale of the 1,700 copies, which Paolo had printed, was far greater than anticipated, so that a reprint of the *De Concilio* was necessary in the same year. The printer took the occasion, of course, to correct in the second edition the slips noted in the *errata* of the first printing. The reprint, however, seems to be much scarcer than the original edition, and the only copy which the present writer has come across is in the Pierpont Morgan Library (no. 1549.1). This copy has been minutely compared with the example of the earlier printing also in the Morgan Library (no. 1548.1) and the results tabulated. From this comparison one learns that the second edition is a page-for-page (though not invariably a line-for-line) reprint of the first as far as folio 61. Thereafter the reprint has one less line per page; at this point it becomes a line-for-line (but not page-for-page) reprint, the change being apparently made to fill the room occupied by the *errata* in the earlier edition. The *errata* notes were, naturally, no longer necessary and were therefore deleted, since the reprint made all the corrections directly in the text; in addition it incorporated in the printed text all the improvements which were made in the copies of the first edition by manual means.

In this respect, Paulus Manutius closely followed a practice which, as the writer has shown, was quite usual in his father's shop; like Aldus himself, Paulus continually made corrections in the copies of his earliest Roman productions, both while printing was still in progress and after the sheets had gone through the press. Fourteen such "post impression" corrections have been noted in the nine copies whose readings are known to me: Chicago, Newberry and University Libraries; Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional; New Haven, Yale University Library; New York, Pierpont Morgan and New York Public Libraries; Oxford, Bodleian Library; Providence, John Carter Brown Library; and San Marino,

Henry E. Huntington Library. The alterations to the printed text are the following:

(1) Sig. B3^{v}, line 16: "ipse" has been corrected to "ipsę" (ipsae) in ink.
(2) Folio 1, line 23 (of text): text reads "id unquam" by erasure from "id nunquam."
(3) Folio 15, marginal note: note "Heb. 1" has been removed by pasting a slip of paper over it.
(4) Folio 21, marginal note: note "Marc. 10" has been corrected to "Marc. 16" by ink.
(5) Folio 26^{v}, line 8: a comma has been supplied after "Ephraim" in ink.
(6) Folio 33^{v}, line 19: "quæ" has been corrected to "qua" in ink.
(7) Folio 45: misnumbered (? 47) and corrected to 45 in ink.
(8) Folio 47: misnumbered (? 45) and corrected to 47 in ink.
(9) Folio 48, line 4: "securitate" has been emended to "securitati" in ink.
(10) Folio 59, line 13: "Conciliorum" has been altered to "Consiliorum" in ink.
(11) Folio 59^{v}, line 15: by erasure behind "a" (of original "ante") text now reads "iam a te dictum est."
(12) Folio 59^{v}, line 27: a period has been supplied after "dedit" by means of ink.
(13) Folio 60, line 17: "eadem" has been corrected to "eādem" in ink.
(14) Folio 60^{v}, line 11: "acta" has been corrected to "actæ" by means of ink.

These alterations are present in all nine copies except in the case of the last item. Here the example in the New York Public Library differs, as the result of an eye-slip, in its manuscript emendation from all its fellows. Instead of correcting the "a" at the end of line 11 to give the reading "actæ," the corrector altered the "a" at the end of line 9 to give the impossible reading "fæ||miliares."

Finally, a fifteenth ink-cancellation is found in all copies except those in the Bodleian, Newberry and New York Public Libraries. This involves the ink-deletion of the incorrect first *errata* note (Pag. 2. b. 1. Cum ii, pro, Cur ii). The printer seems to have

been able to eliminate this error by means of a stop-press emendation, since all copies read "cum ii" on folio 2^{v}, line 1, which the *errata* specifies as the correct reading.

Stop-press corrections too are found in this Aldine, just as they may be discovered in the work of Aldus himself. The last heading on folio 28 reads "ESPONSIO" in six copies, while the other three (Biblioteca Nacional, Chicago University Library and Huntington Library) offer the correct form "RESPONSIO." Again, the Yale example (folio 43, line 20) has "Concila" which has been corrected to read "Concilia" by means of ink; the Morgan and New York Public Library copies both have "Concilia" correctly printed, an obvious stop-press emendation. Thus, as with his father's productions of the previous century, Paolo's first Roman impression shows both stop-press emendations and corrections made by manual means after the printing had been completed.

II

Although, as we have seen, it has long been known that more than one 1562 edition of the *De Concilio* was printed by Paulus Manutius, it appears not to have been pointed out previously that precisely the same situation prevails for the *Reformatio Angliae* of the same year. Of this work too, Paolo printed two editions in the first year of his activity in Rome, the second printing being a page-for-page (but not always a line-for-line) reprint of the earlier. Again the only copy of the second edition which the present writer could discover is in the Pierpont Morgan Library (no. 1549.2); examples of the first printing, in addition to one in the same library (no. 1548.2), were noted for Madrid (Biblioteca Nacional), New Haven (Yale), San Marino (Huntington) and British Museum (2 copies). The reprint can easily be identified as it does not have the line of *errata* already referred to, the correction having been made directly in the text. Furthermore, a comma is found after "ANGLIAE" on the title-page of the reprint; this does not appear there in the original edition.

Upon comparison, the texts of the two Morgan copies of the *Reformatio Angliae* show the same relationship to each other as do the two printings of the *De Concilio*, the later edition making a few corrections and modifications. Here too, manual corrections make their appearance in the earlier printing; the Madrid, Morgan and Yale copies (folio 11^{v}, line 29) have "cupientes" corrected in ink to read "capientes." On folio 18^{v}, line 24, of the original edition there is an erasure at the end of the line (following "purgati, &") in the same three copies, while the reprint here offers the reading "purgati, & ea,".

* * * *

From this study we may conclude that, for his first ventures in Rome, Paulus Manutius exercised the same care—and employed the same means to achieve accuracy—as his father had done before him in Venice. A tradition of exact scholarship and an unwillingness to compromise with anything less than the best was a heritage which Aldus bequeathed to his son; this is amply demonstrated in the care bestowed on the editions of the *De Concilio* and the *Reformatio Angliae* which, in 1562, Paulus Manutius issued from his Roman press.

Bibliographical Notes

*Checklist of the Official Imprints of the Administration of Revilla Gigedo the Younger, 1789–1794**

The bulk of the government publications in the checklist were issued by the office of the viceroy, although some came from such governmental agencies as the *audiencia*. The official imprints of the Archbishop and the Inquisition are not listed here, although those of the viceroy bearing on ecclesiastical matters are. In the case of one government institution, the national lottery, only imprints of a general nature have been included, omitting a body of items which are impressive in number but not singly of value. The director of the lottery published, at least once a month, three routine broadsides: one announcing the date of the next drawing, one listing the prize-winning numbers in numerical order, and one listing them in a different order, presumably that in which they were drawn. Some eighty-five of these, covering forty different drawings during the rule of Revilla Gigedo, are to be found in the Archivo General de la Nación.[1]

Also omitted are broadsides announcing plays, put out by the authorities of the government-operated theater; unfortunately these did not mention the year, but occasionally one is found with the date added in manuscript. Two which date from Revilla Gigedo's period are located in the Manuscript Department of the Biblioteca Nacional, and in the same volume are twenty-three more which might very well belong in the same years.[2]

The director of alcabalas (a tax resembling a sales tax), Juan Navarro, issued throughout the course of this administration a series of directives, some headed "Circular," some "Circular. Alcabalas," and some "Circu-

* Conclusion of "Government Publication in Late Eighteenth-Century Mexico," by Edwin H. Carpenter, Jr., in PAPERS, 46 (1952), 121-138.

[1] Correspondencia de los virreyes, Tomos 3/156, 4/157, 5/158, 8/161, 9/162, 12/165, 13/166, 16/169, and 21/174, *passim*. Lottery imprints included in the Checklist are Nos. 26, 41, and 67.

[2] Tomo 204, "Asuntos de Teatros." It would probably be possible to date many of these broadsides by consulting the manuscript records of the theater found in the same volume. An example of a theater imprint of general interest will be found in Appendix B (No. 4).

lar. Pulques." [3] Of these, the writer has located thirty-one, plus two in manuscript and the printer's manuscripts of seven more; they are listed as Appendix A. The twelve documents headed "Intendencia," [4] directives issued by Revilla Gigedo after he became intendant of Mexico in addition to his other duties, might also be considered as a circular series, but they have been listed individually because of their generally more important content.

The documents described are listed in chronological order, the first item of the entry being the date. Those without day date are at the end of the month, and those without day or month at the end of the year, unless there is evidence showing their relative place in the month or year. The date used for entry is as nearly as possible the date of publication; that is, it is normally the latest date found in the document. This is frequently later than the date of promulgation or approval by the viceroy, being in such cases the date on which his secretary verified the order for printing.

Beneath the date, an "M" followed by a number records the item number of the piece in Medina's *Imprenta en México*, if it is to be found listed there.

Following the date, on the same line, is the opening phrase of the document, given *verbatim et literatim*, except that original capitalization has not been followed. Orders applicable to the general public customarily began with the full name and titles of the viceroy, occupying several lines; in such cases these are indicated by "[name and titles]," and the opening words of the real text are given. The name and titles of Revilla Gigedo—Don Juan Vicente de Guemez Pacheco de Padilla Horcasitas y Aguayo, Conde de Revilla Gigedo, Baron y Señor territorial de las Villas y Baronías de Benillova y Rivarroja, Cabellero Comendador de Peña de Martos en la Orden de Calatrava, Gentil Hombre de Cámara de S.M. con exercicio, Teniente general de sus Reales Exércitos, Virrey, Gobernador y Capitan general de Nueva España, Presidente de su Real Audiencia, Superintendente general Subdelegado de la Real Hacienda, Minas, Azogues, y Ramo del Tabaco, Juez Conservador de éste, Presidente de su Real Junta, y Subdelegado general de Correos en el mismo Reyno—are the ones signified by this device unless otherwise indicated. His name was sometimes spelled Güemez, sometimes Güemes, and his principal title was usually written as two words, though it occasionally occurs as one.

The fourth element in the entry is a brief indication of the subject

[3] *Pulque* was a native form of liquor, which was taxed.

[4] Checklist, Nos. 222, 224, 225, 227, 228, 231, 232, 236, 238, 239, 249, 253.

covered, and the fifth is the collation or description.[5] Blank pages are not recorded; obviously, if an item has an odd number of pages, the verso of the last is blank.

Following these, location of copies examined is given, in the order listed below. The meaning of the abbreviations and locations is as follows:

CU-B Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, California.

Most of the pieces located here are in a volume with the binder's title "Bandos de Revilla Gigedo," call number F 1231 R25 x. There are two sets of numbers within this volume; references to the second are cited as "2d numeration." A few other imprints are to be found in other volumes, of which the call numbers are given.

CSmH. Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

The number given is the call number; many are bound together in made-up volumes, but each has its own number.

BNM-MSS Manuscript Department of the Biblioteca Nacional de México, Mexico City.

Many printed items are to be found among these manuscripts. The bulk of the collection is bound up in volumes, identified by volume number; a few pieces are in filing boxes, identified by the label. Many of the imprints here located are in an unlabelled multi-volume "cedulario" (collection of government orders). This set is identified by its location: "14-1" shows that it is on the first shelf of the fourteenth case. In the system used in the library there is a third number designating the volume, but in locating items in this checklist volumes within the set are indicated by subject content, as given on their manuscript title-pages. Most of the volumes have numbered or lettered half-titles, dividing the volume into sections.

AGN Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City.

Most of the contents of the national archives are bound in volumes in sections, which are subject fields. Those searched for this study included "Bandos," "Impresos oficiales" (here abbreviated Impr. Of.), and "Correspondencia de los virreyes" (here abbreviated Corr. virr.). Within each section the volumes are numbered. The correspondence file of the viceroys has a double numbering, the first being the volume number of the group for the individual viceroy and the second that of the section as a whole. Most of the documents included in the "Impresos oficiales" occur in duplicate.

[5] For the nature and measurements of the different sizes, see PAPERS, 46, p. 134.

T. stands for *tomo* (volume) and f. for folio (one side of a leaf—"folio" as a size is written out).

Notes form the final element of the entry.

Spanish words retained untranslated and not explained in the preceding text include:

Acordada. A special court of a religious nature, active in suppressing highway and other robberies.

Alcaldes. City officials similar to aldermen.

Bienes de comunidad(es). Municipal funds.

Cruzada. A government agency selling papal indulgences.

Cuartel. A quarter or "ward" of a city.

Cuartillos. The smallest coin of the country.

Fuero militar. Privilege enjoyed by soldiers of exemption from the authority of civil courts.

Junta de temporalidades. A board entrusted with disposing of sequestered Jesuit property.

Media anata. A tax on the salary of new or promoted officials ("annats"); it applied also to the clergy.

Monte pío militar. Military pension organization.

Papel sellado. Officially validated paper, required for legal documents.

Pardos libres. Free mulattoes.

Partido. Smallest subdivision of local government.

Provincias Internas. The northern frontier provinces.

Puerto menor. A second-class port of free trade.

Real hacienda. The overall administration of the treasury and all other financial aspects of government.

Rentas. Government monopolies and other similar sources of income.

Residencia. An investigation into the conduct of office of an official upon his leaving the office.

Tlacos. Trade tokens, illegally circulating as money.

CHECKLIST

1789

1. Oct. 19 — El dia 17 del corriente tomé posesión. . . .
   M 7876 — Assumption of command.
   Folio, 1 p.
   CU-B (Bandos, No. 1)
   BNM-MSS (Box "Virreyes")
   AGN, 2 (Bandos, T. 15, No. 28; Impr. Of., T. 17, ff. 91-92)

2. Nov. 10 [name & titles] Se ha servido el rey. . . .
M 7877 Minor employees of Navy department.
Broadside.
CU-B (Bandos, No. 2)
BNM-MSS (T. 361, f. 84)
AGN (Bandos, T. 15, No. 29)

3. Nov. 12 Exmô. Señor: Los deseos de fomentar. . . .
Development of mining.
Folio, 6 p.
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 15, No. 26; Impr. Of., T. 17, ff. 94-96v; Corr. virr., T. 1/154, ff. 224-226v)

4. Nov. 17 [name & titles] Anhelando siempre el paternal amor. . . .
M 7878 Reduction in number of feast days.
Broadside.
CU-B (Bandos, No. 2a)
AGN, 2 (Bandos, T. 15, No. 30; Impr. Of., T. 17, ff. 102-103)
Date printed 1779 by error.

5. Nov. 19 [name & titles] En real orden de 25 de Abril. . . .
Waiver of *residencia* of Viceroy Flórez.
Broadside.
BNM-MSS (T. 362, f. 80)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 15, No. 31; Impr. Of., T. 17, ff. 105-106)

6. Nov. 20 Con motivo de haber declarado. . . .
Appeal from bakers' guild.
Broadside.
CU-B (Bandos, 2d numeration, No. 1a)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 15, No. 32; Impr. Of., T. 17, ff. 108-109)

[Nov. 23 Con motivo de haberse experimentado. . . .]
M 7879 *Cf.* No. 118. Medina lists this title under 1789, which is date of promulgation, but all copies located are an edition of 1792.

7. Dec. 2 El Rey. Mi virrey y capitan general. . . .
M 7901 Papal bulls.
Folio, 2 p.
AGN (Bandos, T. 15, No. 36)

8. Dec. 2 Incluyo á V. [1] la adjunta copia. . . .
Inclosing No. 9.
Folio, 1 p.
CU-B (Bandos, No. 3)
AGN (Bandos, T. 15, No. 37)

[1] Blank left for entering by hand the abbreviation of title appropriate to the addressee, e.g., V. M. (Vuestra Merced). If he was entitled only to "Usted," the blank was left unfilled.

9. Dec. 2
M 7900
El Rey. Habiéndose dignado la divina misericordia. . . .
Birth of the Infanta María Isabel.
Folio, 2 p.
CU-B (Bandos, No. 3)
AGN, 2 (Impr. Of., T. 17, ff. 123-124v)
Opening words of No. 95 are identical.

10. Dec. 2
Para mayor comodidad de las personas. . . .
Hours for securing audience with the viceroy.
Folio, 1 p.
BNM-MSS (T. 362, f. 163)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 15, No. 35; Impr. Of., T. 17, ff. 126-127)

11. Dec. 3
M 7882
México 3 de diciembre de 1789. Instruido de que. . . .
Election of *alcaldes de cuartel.*
Folio, 3 p.
CU-B (Bandos, 2d numeration, No. 2)
BNM-MSS (T. 361, ff. 195-196)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 15, No. 39; Impr. Of., T. 17, ff. 132-135)

12. Dec. 3
M 7881
[name & titles] Por real orden de 30 de junio. . . .
Marriage of minor officials.
Broadside.
CU-B (Bandos, No. 5)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 15, No. 38; Impr. Of., T. 17, ff. 129-130)

13. Dec. 16
[name & titles of Bonavia[2]] Por quanto el dia viente y siete. . . .
Prescribing festivities to celebrate the accession of Charles IV.
Large broadside.
BNM-MSS (T. 362, f. 124)

14. Dec. 19
M 7883
[name & titles] Con fecha de 14 de abril del corriente año. . . .
Trading by employees of the *rentas* forbidden.
Broadside.
CU-B (Bandos, No. 6)
BNM-MSS (Cedulario 14-1, Real Hacienda, T. 1, No. 11 of section 7)
AGN, 5 (Bandos, T. 15, No. 41; Impr. Of., T. 17, ff. 137-138, 140-141)

[2] Bernardo Bonavia, *corregidor* of Mexico City and intendant of the province of Mexico.

15. Dec. 22 — [name & titles] La experiencia ha acreditado que. . . .
M 7884 — Fraud in bills of sale.
Broadside.
CU-B (Bandos, No. 7)
BNM-MSS (Cedulario 14-1, Alcabalas, T. 2, No. 5 of section R)
AGN (Bandos, T. 15, No. 42)

16. Dec. 27 — Considero que V. aprecie. . . .
Subscription for presenting a ship to the King. (*Cf.* No. 127.)
Folio, 3 p.
BNM-MSS (T. 365, ff. 303-304)

1790

17. Jan. 8 — [name & titles of Bucareli[3]] Para que en los reynos de Indias. . . .
Payment of *alcabala*.
Folio, 4 p.
BNM-MSS (T. 363, ff. 310-311v, proof)
Reprint of an order of January 14, 1779.

18. Jan. 19 — [name & titles] Siendo el medio de empeñar prendas. . . .
M 7967 — Regulations for pawnshops.
Broadside.
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 15, No. 46; Impr. Of., T. 17, ff. 143-144)

19. Feb. 3 — [name & titles] Con la justa mira de. . . .
M 7969 — Forbidding millers to be agents of farmers.
Broadside.
CU-B (Bandos, 2d numeration, No. 3)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 15, No. 48; Impr. Of., T. 17, ff. 152-153)

20. Feb. 3 — [name & titles] Por quanto es conveniente á la renta. . . .
M 7968 — Supplies for the tobacco *renta*.
Large broadside.
CU-B (Bandos, No. 10)
BNM-MSS (Cedulario 14-1, Tabaco, No. 4 of section S)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 15, No. 47; Impr. Of., T. 17, ff. 149-150)
This was reprinted in 1794 (No. 266).

21. Feb. 10 — El Rey. Con motivo de haber tenido. . . .
M 8010 — Tithes of Antequera de Oaxaca.
Folio, 2 p.
CU-B (Bandos, No. 12)
BNM-MSS (T. 363, ff. 77-77v)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 15, No. 49; Impr. Of., T. 17, ff. 155-156v)

[3] Antonio María de Bucareli y Ursúa, viceroy from 1771 to 1779.

22. Feb. 16 El arzobispo gobernador de ese reyno. . . .
Sacristans and the *media anata eclesiastica.*
Folio, 2 p.
BNM-MSS, 2 (T. 363, ff. 76-76v; Box "Cedulas y provisiones reales")

23. Mar. 9 Nada destruye mas los empedrados. . . .
Rainspouts discharging water into streets.
Folio, 1 p.
BNM-MSS (T. 365, f. 296)
AGN, 2 (Impr. Of., T. 17, ff. 184-185)

23a. Same, variant. Second paragraph begins "Con esta consideracion" instead of "Esta consideracion."
BNM-MSS (T. 365, f. 297)
AGN (Bandos, T. 15, No. 51)

24. Mar. 15 Remito á V. exemplares de la real cédula. . . .
Inclosing No. 25.
Folio, 1 p.
AGN (Impr. Of., T. 16, f. 276)

25. Mar. [15?] M 10506 Real cedula de su Magestad sobre la educacion, trate, y ocupaciones de los esclavos. . . .
Treatment of slaves.
Folio, t-p, 10 p.
CSmH (57216)
BNM-MSS (T. 365, ff. 287-292v, proof)
AGN (Bandos, T. 15, No. 10)

Date in the imprint reads MDCCCX (1810), but this seems to be an error for MDCCXC (1790). The *cédula* is dated May 31, 1789, and the copy is dated in Mexico in March, 1790; the copies in the BNM and the AGN are both bound with imprints of 1790. Medina enters under 1810, but he had not seen a copy, knowing it only from an auction catalog.

The pages of the proof copy in the BNM are misnumbered 1-6, 6, 7, 8, 10, and the error is not corrected by the proofreader; the other copies are misnumbered 1-6, 6, 7, 6, 10.

26. Mar. 17 M 8014 Aviso al publico. La apreciable ventaja. . . .
New lottery for public works.
Large broadside.
BNM-MSS (T. 365, f. 298)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 15, No. 53; Impr. Of., T. 17, ff. 187-188)

Signed by Francisco Javier de Sarria, director of the lottery.

27. Mar. 23 M 7970 [name & titles] Con la justa mira de corregir. . . .
Curbing excesses during Holy Week.
Broadside.
CU-B (Bandos, 2d numeration, No. 4)

AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 15, No. 54; Impr. Of., T. 17, ff. 190-191)

28. Mar. 30
M 7971
[name & titles] En real orden de 12 de diciembre. . . .
Members of *juntas de temporalidades* forbidden to buy ex-Jesuit properties for themselves.
Broadside.
CU-B (Bandos, No. 16)
BNM-MSS (Cedulario 14-1, Real Hacienda, T. 4, No. 10 of section 1)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 15, No. 55; Impr. Of., T. 17, ff. 193-194)

29. Mar. 31
Instrucción que deberá observarse. . . .
Regulations for the viceregal secretariat.
Folio, 18 p.
CSmH (57230)
BNM-MSS (T. 365, ff. 270-278v)
AGN (Bandos, T. 15, No. 59)

No. 32 serves as an addition to this. There was also an addition made by Viceroy Branciforte in 1797. Nos. 29 and 32 are reprinted in No. 275.

30. Apr. 7
M 7972
Reglamento formado de órden del. . . .
Regulations for street lighting.
Folio, 5 p. plus 2 p. "Adicion."
CU-B (Bandos, 2d numeration, No. 5)
CSmH (183653; "Adicion," 57588)
BNM-MSS (T. 365, ff. 259-261, lacking the "Adicion")
AGN (Bandos, T. 15, Nos. 56-57)

31. Apr. 8
M 7973
[name & titles] Para precaver la disipacion y enagenacion. . . .
Control of pawning by soldiers.
Broadside.
CU-B (Bandos, 2d numeration, No. 6)
BNM-MSS (Cedulario, 14-1, Militares, T. 1, No. 11)
AGN (Bandos, T. 15, No. 58)

32. Apr. 10
México 10 de abril de 1790. Mañana á las nueve. . . .
Junta to discuss secretariat regulations.
Folio, 3 p.
CSmH (57231)
BNM-MSS (T. 365, ff. 279-280)
AGN (Bandos, T. 15, No. 59)

Supplements No. 29. Reprinted in No. 275.

33. Apr. 15
[name & titles] Aunque todos conocen los beneficios. . . .
Street lighting.
Broadside.
AGN, 2 (Bandos, T. 15, No. 60; Impr. Of., T.17, f. 196)

34. May 1
M 7975
Reglamento formado de órden del. . . .
Regulations for paving streets.
Folio, 4 p.
CU-B (Bandos, 2d numeration, No. 7)
BNM-MSS (T. 365, ff. 256-257v)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 15, No. 63; Impr. Of., T. 17, ff. 203-206v)

35. May 4
M 7976
[name & titles] Desvelado por la felicidad de los pueblos. . . .
Loans to be made in money, not *tlacos*.
Broadside.
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 15, No. 64; Impr. Of., T. 17, ff. 208-209)

36. May 11
M 7977
[name & titles] Subsistiendo aún las consideraciones. . . .
Extending time for recall of old money.
Broadside.
CU-B (Bandos, No. 17)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 15, No. 66; Impr. Of., T. 17, ff. 211-212)

37. May 15
M 7978
México 12 de mayo de 1790. Es bien notorio el vasto despacho. . . .
Prescribing business hours for the treasury department.
Broadside.
CU-B (Bandos, No. 18)
BNM-MSS (T. 365, f. 255)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 15, No. 67; Impr. Of., T. 17, ff. 214-215)

38. May 20
[name & titles] Por quanto S.M.[4]. . . .
Fugitive slaves.
Broadside.
AGN, 2 (Bandos, T. 15, No. 68; Impr. Of., T. 16, f. 254)

39. May 22
M 7979
[name & titles] Por quanto la procesion inmediata. . . .
Regulations for procession of Corpus Christi.
Broadside.
AGN (Bandos, T. 15, No. 70)

40. June 1
M 7994
Reglamento que han de observar el juez. . . .
Regulations for accounts of special courts (dated 1788).
Folio, t-p, 35 p.
CU-B (F 1223.34 M152)
CSmH, 3 (52664; 57578; 183647)
BNM-MSS, 2 (T. 365, ff. 176-195; T. 380, ff. 43-61)

The three copies in CSmH and the one in T. 365 of BNM-MSS contain an extra leaf, with a table, between pages 26 and 27.

Drawn up by Fernando de Herrera.

[4] Su Magestad.

41. June 2 — Aviso al publico. Se hace saber que. . . .
Watches to be additional lottery prizes. (*Cf.* No. 67.)
Broadside.
BNM-MSS (T. 365, f. 211)
AGN (Bandos, T. 15, No. 71)
Signed by Francisco Javier de Sarria.

42. June 22
M 7980 — Con motivo de las dudas que. . . .
Form in which doctors should report wounds.
Folio, 1 p.
CU-B (Bandos, No. 19)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 15, No. 73; Impr. Of., T. 17, ff. 222-223)

43. June 23
M 7981 — [name & titles] En providencia de. . . .
Collection of the *alcabala*.
Broadside.
CU-B (Bandos, No. 20)
BNM-MSS, 2 (T. 377, f. 372; Cedulario 14-1, Alcabalas, T. 2, No. 7 of section R)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 15, No. 74; Impr. Of., T. 17, ff. 219-220)

44. July 29
M 7974 — Exmô Señor.=En este expediente. . . .
Fuero militar.
Folio, 8 p. plus supplement, 2 p.
CU-B (Bandos, No. 21, complete)
BNM-MSS (Box "Virreyes," without supplement; Cedulario 14-1, Militares, T. 1, No. 5 of section 5, supplement only)
AGN (Bandos, T. 15, No. 62, without supplement; *ibid.*, No. 75, supplement only; Impr. Of., T. 17, ff. 225-226v, supplement only, two copies)
The supplement, which may be found separately, as above, begins "Y que por conseqüencia. . . ."

45. Aug. 6
M 7982 — [name & titles] Entre las muchas providencias de buen gobierno. . . .
Construction of new buildings.
Broadside.
CU-B (Bandos, 2d numeration, No. 8)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 16, No. 76; Impr. Of., T. 17, ff. 228-229)

46. Aug. 17 — Remito á V. un exemplar impreso. . . .
Inclosing No. 47.
Folio, 1 p.
AGN, 2 (Bandos, T. 15, No. 77; Impr. Of., T. 17, f. 231)

47. Aug. 17
M 7959
Decreto del rey, uniendo las cinco secretarias de estado. . . .
Administrative reorganization bearing on business of the Indies.
Folio, t-p, 15 p.
CU-B (Bandos, No. 23)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 15, No. 78; Impr. Of., T. 17, ff. 232-249)

48. Aug. 31
M 7984
De orden del rey se ha servido. . . .
Holidays for government offices.
Folio, 1 p.
CU-B (Bandos, No. 24)
BNM-MSS (Cedulario 14-1, Real Hacienda, T. 1, No. 44 of section 7)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 15, No. 79; Impr. Of., T. 17, ff. 251-252)

49. Aug. 31
En orden de 30 de abril. . . .
Form of signature of Pedro de Lerena (a Spanish minister).
Folio, 2 p.
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 15, No. 81; Impr. Of., T. 17, ff. 262-263v)

50. Aug. 31
M 7983
[name & titles] Uno de los puntos mas esenciales. . . .
Cleanliness of city.
Folio, 6 p.
CU-B (Bandos, 2d numeration, No. 9)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 15, No. 80; Impr. Of., T. 17, ff. 254-256v, 258-260v)

51. Sept. 4
M 7964
Reglamento provisional para el régimen, gobierno y subsistencia. . . .
Regulation for the urban cavalry squadron of the bakers, butchers, and tanners.
Folio, 14 p.
CU-B, 2 (Bandos, No. 25; in F 1231 M224, No. 1)
CSmH (142092)
AGN (Bandos, T. 15, No. 82)

52. Sept. 14
M 7985
[name & titles] Por real orden de. . . .
Fuero militar.
Broadside.
CU-B (Bandos, No. 26)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 15, No. 83; Impr. Of., T. 17, ff. 267-268)

53. Sept. 18
M 7987
Reglamento en que se establecen. . . .
Fire fighting regulations for Mexico City.
Folio, t-p, 8 p.
CU-B (Bandos, 2d numeration, No. 10)
CSmH (57574)

AGN (Bandos, T. 15, No. 84)

Day of month left blank; CSmH and AGN copies have "18" inserted by hand.

54. Sept. 23
M 7986
Estando prohibidas por leyes las conexiones de parentesco. . . .
Nepotism.
Folio, 3 p.
BNM-MSS (Cedulario 14-1, Real Hacienda, T. 1, No. 1 of section 3)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 15, No. 85; Impr. Of., T. 17, ff. 270-273)

55. Oct. 12
M 7988
[name & titles] En 14 de enero de 1787. . . .
Tobacco which passengers for Spain are allowed to carry.
Broadside.
CU-B (Bandos, No. 29)
BNM-MSS (Cedulario 14-1, Tabaco, No. 6 of section P)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 15, No. 86; Impr. Of., T. 17, ff. 280-281)

56. Oct. 29
M 7990
[name & titles] En todos tiempos. . . .
Illegal gambling.
Extra large broadside.
AGN (Bandos, T. 15, No. 88)

56a.
M 7989
Same, variant. Folio, 12 p.
No copy seen; Medina lists one in the Archivo General de Indias (Spain).

57. Nov. 23
M 7965
Nuevo reglamento para el regimen. . . .
Regulations for the Acapulco garrison.
Folio, 8 p.
CU-B, 2 (Bandos, No. 31; in F 1231 M223, No. 1)
AGN, 2 (Bandos, T. 15, No. 91; Impr. Of., T. 17, ff. 296-299v)

58. Nov. 23
Reglamento provisional para el regimen. . . .
Regulations for San Blas infantry company.
Folio, 8 p.
CU-B (in F 1231 M223, No. 2)
BNM-MSS, 2 (T. 374, ff. 214-217v; Cedulario 14-1, Militares, T. 2, No. 4)
AGN (Bandos, T. 15, No. 90)

59. Nov. 26
M 7992
[name & titles] El lastimoso estado. . . .
Tax for improvement of streets.
Large broadside.
CU-B (Bandos, 2d numeration, No. 11)
CSmH (183665)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 15, No. 92; Impr. Of., T. 17, ff. 283-284)

Date is printed Nov. 27, but all copies seen except AGN Bandos have "26" written over the "27."

60. Nov. 26 [name & titles] El no haberse podido perfeccionar. . . .
M 7993 Tax for street lighting.
Large broadside.
CU-B (Bandos, 2d numeration, No. 12)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 15, No. 94; Impr. Of., T. 17, ff. 286-287)

61. Nov. 26 Por real orden de 14 de junio. . . .
M 7991 Disputed jurisdictions.
Folio, 2 p.
CU-B (Bandos, No. 30)
AGN (Bandos, T. 15, No. 93)
Medina gives date as Nov. 25, but both copies seen are dated the 26th.

62. Dec. 31 Razon de las cantidades de oro y plata acuñadas. . . .
Statistics of the mint for 1790.
Broadside.
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 15, No. 95; Impr. Of., T. 17, f. 307; Corr. virr., T. 8/161, f. 49)

63. —— Estado general de la poblacion de Mexico . . . Num. 1º Año de 1790.
Population statistics, Mexico City.
Broadside, printed sideways.
AGN (Corr. virr., T. 8/161, f. 118)
Inclosed in a letter dated February 8, 1791. The "Number 1" suggests that perhaps this was to be an annual imprint, but no others were found.

64. —— Estado general de la poblacion de Mexico . . . . Dividida en ocho quarteles. . . .
Population statistics, Mexico City.
Broadside.
CSmH (57169)
BNM-MSS (T. 369, f. 353)
Not the same as No. 63. Perhaps of a later date, since total is 112,926 instead of 111,067, as in No. 63—but this may be a more accurate rather than a later count.

65. —— Ordenanzas que para el manejo. . . .
M 7998 Regulations for assay office of the mint.
Folio, t-p, 13 p.
CSmH (57983)
BNM-MSS (T. 378, ff. 66-72)
AGN (Bandos, T. 13, No. 11)
Prepared by Fernando José Mangino at the order of Viceroy Mayorga.

66. —— Reglamento e instruccion para los presidios. . . .
M 8011 Regulations for the presidios on the northern frontier.
Folio, 91 plus 3 p.
No copy seen; Medina locates one in the Archivo General de Indias (Spain).

There were both earlier and later editions of this *reglamento*; see Henry R. Wagner, *The Spanish Southwest, 1542-1794* . . . (Albuquerque, The Quivira Society, 1937), No. 159.

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67. Jan. 19 Aviso al publico. Por justas consideraciones que. . . .
Discontinuance of watches as lottery prizes. (*Cf.* No. 41.)
Folio, 1 p.
AGN (Bandos, T. 16, No. 1)

Signed by Francisco Javier de Sarria.

68. Jan. 29 [name & titles] En 19 de octubre. . . .
Exchange brokers.
Broadside.
BNM-MSS (T. 365, f. 101)
AGN (Bandos, T. 16, No. 2)

69. Feb. 22 El exmô. señor D. Pedro de Lerena me comunica. . . .
Modification in penalties for illegal tobacco growing.
Folio, 2 p.
BNM-MSS (Cedulario 14-1, Tabaco, No. 5 of section R/S)

70. Feb. 23 En real orden de 15 de septiembre. . . .
Naval pensions in the *monte pío militar*.
Folio, 4 p.
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 16, No. 95; Impr. Of., T. 18, ff. 25-28v)

71. Mar. 4 [name & titles] A conseqüencia de lo prevenido. . . .
M 8081 *Alcabala.*
Broadside.
CU-B (Bandos, No. 36)
BNM-MSS (Cedulario 14-1, Alcabala, T. 1, No. 5 of section A)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 16, No. 4; Impr. Of., T. 18, ff. 30-31)

72. Mar. 5 [name & titles] Con motivo de haberse. . . .
M 8082 Method of sending petitions to the crown.
Broadside.
CU-B (Bandos, No. 37)
AGN (Bandos, T. 16, No. 5)

73. Mar. 18 [name & titles] Por quanto de órden del rey. . . .
Forwarding papal brief extending the period of the vicariate-general in Mexico.
Folio, 8 p.
AGN, 4 (Bandos, T. 16, No. 6; Impr. Of., T. 18, ff. 63-74v)

The brief was printed in Madrid in 1790, and apparently enough copies were received in Mexico to make distribution possible without reprinting. A copy of the Spanish imprint may be found in CU-B (Bandos, No. 34).

74. Mar. 23 El exmô. señor D. Pedro de Lerena. . . .
M 8083 Creation of "directors" of *rentas*, *real hacienda*, and commerce.
Folio, 4 p.
BNM-MSS (Cedulario 14-1, Real Hacienda, T. 1, No. 15 of section 7)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 16, No. 8; Impr. Of., T. 18, ff. 81-84v)

75. Mar. 26 [name & titles] Aunque tengo prevenido. . . .
M 8084 Cleaning of streets.
Broadside.
CU-B (Bandos, 2d numeration, No. 13)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 16, No. 9; Impr. Of., T. 18, ff. 86-87)

76. Mar. 30 Instruccion para sembrar, cultivar y beneficiar los linos y
M 8041 cáñamos.
Cultivation of flax and hemp.
Folio, 4 p.
CU-B (Bandos, No. 39)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 16, No. 10; Impr. Of., T. 18, ff. 89-92v)

Signed by Antonio Bonilla, the viceroy's secretary; the copies in AGN Impr. Of. bear no signature.

77. Apr. 6 En real cédula de 19 de septiembre. . . .
M 8085 Collection of tax for hospitals.
Folio, 4 p.
CU-B (Bandos, No. 40)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 16, No. 13; Impr. Of., T. 18, ff. 94-97v)

78. Apr. 6 La satisfaccion de portes de cartas. . . .
Inclosing No. 79.
Folio, 3 p.
AGN (Bandos, T. 16, No. 11)

79. Apr. 6
M 8086
Exmô. Señor.= Pues son constantes. . . .
Official mail to be post-free.
Folio, 8 p.
CU-B (Bandos, No. 41)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 16, No. 12; Impr. Of., T. 18, ff. 100-107v)

80. Apr. 6
M 8087
[name & titles] Con el fin de remover los abusos. . . .
Excesses committed during Holy Week.
Broadside.
CU-B (Bandos, 2d numeration, No. 14)
AGN (Bandos, T. 16, No. 14)

81. Apr. 23
M 8088
En obedecimiento de la real orden. . . .
Mint to issue gold to silversmiths and gold-leaf beaters.
Folio, 4 p.
None seen; Medina describes a copy in his own collection.

82. Apr. 30
[name & titles] Con fecha de 3 de febrero. . . .
Tobacco prices.
Large broadside.
CU-B (Bandos, No. 42)
AGN (Bandos, T. 16, No. 15)

83. May 27
M 8089
[name & titles] En cumplimiento de reales ordenes. . . .
Counter-marks to be used by customs house.
Broadside.
CU-B (Bandos, No. 42 [bis])
BNM-MSS (Cedulario 14-1, Alcabalas, T. 2, No. 18 of section G)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 16, No. 17; Impr. Of., T. 18, ff. 121-122)

84. May 28
M 8090
[name & titles] Conforme á la ley. . . .
Scribes to report to *alacabala* administration certificates of sales.
Broadside.
CU-B (Bandos, No. 43)
BNM-MSS (Cedulario 14-1, Alcabalas, T. 2, No. 9 of section T)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 16, No. 18; Impr. Of., T. 18, ff. 124-125)

85. May 31
Todos los paises cultos de la Europa. . . .
Inclosing No. 86.
Folio, 2 p.
AGN, 2 (Bandos, T. 16, No. 19; Impr. Of., T. 18, ff. 130-130v)

86. ca. May 31 M 7743 Instruccion a que deberán arreglarse los señores gobernadores. . . .
Reports on natural history and geography for publication in the *Gazeta de México.*
Folio, 7 p.
BNM-MSS (T. 361, ff. 93-96)
AGN (Bandos, T. 16, No. 20)

86a. Same, variant. Different setting of type; e. g., third line of Par. 9 on p. 2 ends "si hay en" instead of "si hay," and division of lines differs from there on.
CU-B (Bandos, No. 33)
AGN, 2 (Impr. Of., T. 18, ff. 131-138)

Medina places under 1787, suggesting Manuel Antonio Valdés as the author. The copy in the BNM has a printed covering letter issued by Viceroy Flórez on Dec. 9, 1788, in which he says that Valdés wrote the document. The CU-B copy is dated in manuscript Jan. 1, 1791. The copies of both variants in the AGN have a covering letter dated May 31, 1791 (No. 85). Perhaps one printing was made to accompany Flórez' order of 1788 and the other to accompany Revilla Gigedo's of 1791.

87. June 9 M 8091 [name & titles] Por quanto habiendose dado cuenta. . . .
Rules for issuance of precious metals to silversmiths and goldbeaters.
Broadside.
None seen; Medina describes a copy in his own collection.

88. July 6 El exmô. señor Don Antonio Porlier me comunica. . . .
Porlier has been granted title of Marqués de Baxamar.
Folio, 1 p.
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 16, No. 22; Impr. Of., T. 18, ff. 140-141)

89. July 13 En atencion á los distinguidos y recomendables servicios. . . .
Title granted to Pedro de Lerena.
Folio, 1 p.
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 16, No. 23; Impr. Of., T. 18, ff. 155-156)

90. July 18 M 8076 Instruccion del director de mineria. . . .
New method of subsidizing mines.
Folio, 4 p.
CU-B (Bandos, No. 45)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 16, No. 16; Impr. Of., T. 18, ff. 143-146v)

Signed by Fausto de Elhuyar, director of the *tribunal de mineria.*

91. July 20
M 8092
En real orden de 24 de marzo último. . . .
Permission for marriage.
Folio, 2 p.
CU-B (Bandos, No. 46)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 16, No. 24; Impr. Of., T. 18, ff. 148-149v)

92. July 22
[name & titles] Su Mag. . . . por un efecto de su soberana clemencia. . . .
Contraband.
Large broadside.
AGN (Bandos, T. 16, No. 24 bis)

93. July 27
[name & titles] Deseando S. M. que. . . .
Birth of an Infanta (*Cf.* No. 95)
Broadside.
AGN (Impr. Of., T. 18, f. 153)

94. July 27
Paso á V. el exemplar adjunto de. . . .
Inclosing No. 95.
Folio, 1 p.
AGN (Bandos, T. 16, No. 25)

95. July 27
M 8131
El Rey. Habiendose dignado la divina misericordia. . . .
Birth of an Infanta.
Folio, 2 p.
CU-B (Bandos, No. 47)
CSmH (57185)
Identical with No. 9 in opening words.

96. Aug. 17
[name & titles] Con fecha de ocho de marzo. . . .
Attendance of royal officials at *juntas*.
Broadside.
AGN (Bandos, T. 16, No. 27)

[Aug. 18]
Revilla Gigedo mentions (in his *Instrucción reservada*, Par. 399) publishing on this date a *bando* on the subject of conservation of pepper trees. Perhaps it existed only in manuscript.

97. Aug. 31
M 8094
[name & titles] Continuando el rey. . . .
Reduction in *alcabala*.
Broadside.
CU-B (Bandos, No. 48)
BNM-MSS (T. 366, f. 10)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 16, No. 28; Impr. Of., T. 18, ff. 224-225)

98. Aug. 31
M 8093
Instruido expediente en la intendencia de Zacatecas. . . .
Claims against the *real hacienda.*
Folio, 1 p.
CU-B (Bandos, No. 49)
BNM-MSS (Cedulario 14-1, Real Hacienda, T. 2, No. 10 of section 3)
AGN, 2 (Bandos, T. 16, No. 29; Impr. Of., T. 18, f. 221)

99. Aug. —
M 8058
Ordenes que deben observarse. . . .
Regulations for conduct of troops in Mexico City on holidays.
Quarto, t-p, 4 p.
BNM-MSS (Box "Virreyes," lacking t-p)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 16, No. 30; Impr. Of., T. 18, ff. 214-219v)

The heading on p. 1, which appears to be the title if the title-page is missing, is "Por superior disposicion del . . . virrey. . . ."

100. Sept. 20
M 8095
[name & titles] Subsisten todavia. . . .
Turning in of old money.
Broadside.
CU-B (Bandos, No. 50)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 16, No. 31; Impr. Of., T. 18, ff. 233-234)

101. [Sept. 21]
M 8045
Noticias sobre que deben informar. . . .
Reports on mining.
Folio, 3 p.
CU-B (Bandos, No. 51)

Undated. Medina conjectures 1791, and this is dated as above in manuscript; this is doubtless correct in view of the date of the covering letter (No. 102).

102. Sept. 27
El impreso adjunto hace referencia. . . .
Inclosing No. 101.
Folio, 1 p.
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 16, No. 32; Impr. Of., T. 18, ff. 241-242)

103. Oct. 4
M 8096
[name & titles] Con fecha de 22 de julio de. . . .
Offenders against liquor laws are included in general amnesty.
Broadside.
CU-B (Bandos, No. 52)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 16, No. 34; Impr. Of., T. 18, ff. 244-245)

104. Oct. 4
[name & titles] Habiendo determinado que el navio. . . .
Announcing a ship ready to sail for Spain, prepared to transmit funds.
Broadside.
AGN (Bandos, T. 16, No. 35)

105. Nov. 3
M 8097
[name & titles] Aprobado por el . . . Conde de Floridablanca. . . .
New mail schedules, increasing the service.
Broadside.
CU-B (Bandos, No. 53)
BNM-MSS (T. 366, f. 108)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 16, No. 38; Impr. Of., T. 18, ff. 247-248)

106. Nov. 3
M 8132
El Rey. Habiendo pasado á informe. . . .
Payment of travel expenses of missionaries.
Folio, 4 p.
CU-B (Bandos, No. 54)
CSmH (57176)
BNM-MSS (T. 377, ff. 52-53v)

107. Nov. 11
M 8098
Reglamento para los mercados de México. . . .
Regulations for market-places.
Folio, t-p, 10 p.
CU-B, 2 (Bandos, 2d numeration, No. 15; F 1386 M4775)
CSmH (57573)
BNM-MSS (T. 367, ff. 231-236v)
AGN, 2 (Bandos, T. 16, No. 39; Impr. Of., T. 18, ff. 266-271v)

108. Nov. 12
M 8080
Reglamento provisional para el prest. . . .
Regulations for Presidio del Carmen.
Folio, 56 p.
CU-B, 2 (Bandos, No. 55; in F 1231 M223, No. 3)
BNM-MSS (Cedulario 14-1, Militares, T. 2, No. 5)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 16, No. 26; Impr. Of., T. 18, ff. 158-213v)

109. Nov. 21
M 8133
El Rey. Por quanto con motivo de. . . .
A customs violation incident in Veracruz.
Folio, 4 p.
CU-B (Bandos, No. 57)
This was reprinted in 1793 (No. 189).

110. Nov. 22
M 8099
[name & titles] Para evitar los vicios. . . .
Castillian titles in America.
Large broadside.
CU-B (Bandos, No. 58)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 16, No. 40; Impr. Of., T. 18, ff. 109-110)

111. Nov. 28
M 8118
Instruccion provisional que para los operaciones de arcas. . . .
Regulations for local treasury offices.
Folio, 8 p. plus 2 of tables.
CU-B (Bandos, No. 59)
BNM-MSS (T. 366, ff. 194-199)
AGN (Bandos, T. 16, No. 36)

112. Dec. — Deseoso el virrey de que las honras. . . .
Invitation to Mass for deceased soldiers, December 24.
Quarto, 1 p.
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 16, No. 42; Impr. Of., T. 18, ff. 249-250)

113. Dec. 28 En fecha de 18 de agosto de 1773. . . .
M 8100 Reiteration of an order for civil judges to assist ecclesiastics in enforcing annual confession and Communion.
Folio, 2 p.
CU-B (Bandos, No. 60)
CSmH (57188)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 16, No. 43; Impr. Of., T. 18, ff. 260-261)

114. Dec. 31 Razon de las cantidades de oro y plata. . . .
Mint statistics for 1791.
Folio, 1 p.
BNM-MSS (T. 366, f. 193)

115. Dec. 31 [name & titles] Uno de los autos de. . . .
M 8101 Moving household goods at night forbidden.
Broadside.
CU-B (Bandos, 2d numeration, No. 16)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 16, No. 44; Impr. Of., T. 18, ff. 263-264)

116. —— [name & titles] En debido puntual cumplimiento de. . . .
Order to take census in each *partido*.
Broadside.
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 16, No. 45; Impr. Of., T. 18, ff. 257-258)

Name of *partido*, name of person charged with the duty, and date left blank; copies seen are bound with 1791 imprints, and are on *papel sellado* of 1790-1791.

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117. Jan. 4 Con motivo de haberse experimentado. . . .
M 7879 Mail carriers not to accept private commissions.
Folio, 2 p.
CU-B (Bandos, No. 61)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 15, No. 34; Impr. Of., T. 17, ff. 120-121)

118. Jan. 9 [blank] del consejo de Su Magestad, su oydor. . . .
Handling of property of deceased persons.
Folio, 7 p.
AGN (Bandos, T. 16, No. 46)

"Don Cosme de Mier y Trespalacios" supplied in manuscript in this copy; dated in manuscript.

119. Feb. 11
M 8217
El Rey. Por quanto D. Joseph Estachería. . . .
Decisions on payment of *alcabala.*
Folio, 4 p.
CU-B (Bandos, No. 62)
CSmH (57968)
BNM-MSS, 2 (T. 367, ff. 229-230; Cedulario 14-1, Alcabalas, T. 1, No. 8 of section D)

120. Feb. 11
M 8206
Leyes, ordenanzas, autos acordados y. . . .
Indians' exemption from *alcabala.*
Folio, 11 p.
BNM-MSS, 2 (T. 367, ff. 223-228; Cedulario 14-1, Alcabalas, T. 2, No. 2 of section Y)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 16, No. 71; Impr. Of., T. 18, ff. 299-310)

121. Feb. 17
M 8185
[name & titles] Conviniendo á la salud pública. . . .
Regulations for butchers' shops, and on pigs in the streets.
Large broadside.
AGN (Bandos, T. 16, No. 48)

122. Mar. 4
M 8186
Junta superior de real hacienda febrero 24 de 1792.=Visto este expediente. . . .
Bills of exchange of administrators of *partidos.*
Folio, 3 p.
CU-B (Bandos, No. 86)
BNM-MSS (Cedulario 14-1, Real Hacienda, T. 1, No. 19 of section 7)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 16, No. 69; Impr. Of., T. 18, ff. 392-395)

123. Mar. 13
Es adjunta copia certificada. . . .
Inclosing No. 124.
Folio, 1 p.
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 16, No. 51; Impr. Of., T. 19, ff. 5-6)

124. Mar. 13
Exmô. Señor.= En vista de lo que. . . .
Temporary changes in the ministry in Spain.
Folio, 2 p.
AGN, 2 (Bandos, T. 16, No. 52; Impr. Of., T. 19, ff. 7-7v)

125. Mar. 13
M 8187
La exâcta, pura y arreglada recaudacion y manejo. . . .
Economy in administration of finances.
Folio, 2 p.
CU-B (Bandos, No. 64)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 16, No. 53; Impr. Of., T. 18, ff. 323-324v)

126. Mar. 15
M 8216
El Rey. Virrey, gobernador y capitan general de. . . .
Concerning a bond posted by the Marqués de San Miguel de Aguayo.
Folio, 3 p.
CU-B (Bandos, No. 65)
BNM-MSS, 2 (T. 367, ff. 252-253; Cedulario 14-1, Real Hacienda, T. 1, No. 18 of section 7)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 16, No. 54; Impr. Of., T. 18, ff. 273-276)

127. Mar. 17
Con fecha de 11 del presente mes. . . .
Contributions for a ship to be presented to the King. (*Cf.* No. 16)
Folio, 3 p.
BNM-MSS (T. 367, ff. 254-255)
A circular letter, with no signature.

[Apr. 2
Con el fin de evitar y corregir. . . .]
An order of this date and title was reissued as No. 177, but perhaps it was not printed at this time.

128. Apr. 21
M 8189
[name & titles] En real cédula de. . . .
Paving of streets.
Broadside.
CU-B (Bandos, 2d numeration, No. 18)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 16, No. 56; Impr. Of., T. 18, ff. 326-327)

129. May 14
M 8220
Exmô. Señor.= Con fecha de. . . .
Promotion of members of *audiencias*.
Folio, 2 p.
CU-B (Bandos, No. 66)
BNM-MSS, 2 (T. 367, ff. 270-270v; Cedulario 14-1, Real Hacienda, T. 2, No. 16 of section 1)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 16, No. 57; Impr. Of., T. 18, ff. 332-333v)

130. May 16
M 8190
[name & titles] De resultas de haber solicitado licencia. . . .
Permission for an Indian to visit Spain.
Broadside.
CU-B (Bandos, No. 67)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 16, No. 58; Impr. Of., T. 18, ff. 335-336)

131. May 21
[name & titles] Debiendo llegar un navio de la real armada. . . .
Announcing a ship arriving from Spain, prepared to transmit funds.
Broadside.
AGN (Bandos, T. 16, No. 61)

132. May 25 [name & titles] En real cédula de. . . .
Probating wills of deceased militiamen.
Broadside.
CSmH, incomplete (57992)
BNM-MSS (Cedulario 14-1, Militares, T. 1, No. 5 of section 6)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 16, No. 62; Impr. Of., T. 18, ff. 354-355)
Manuscript note on CSmH copy says, "Published May 29, 1792."

133. May 25 México 18 de mayo de 1791. [*sic*] Por soberanas modernas
M 8191 disposiciones. . . .
Submission of treasury reports.
Folio, 4 p.
CU-B (Bandos, No. 68)
BNM-MSS, 2 (T. 367, ff. 258-259v; Cedulario 14-1, Real Hacienda, T. 1, No. 3 of section 3)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 16, No. 59; Impr. Of., T. 18, ff. 338-341v)
In some copies the year has been corrected to 1792 in manuscript.

134. June 9 [name & titles] Habiendo el abastecedor de carnes. . . .
Care of cattle brought to Mexico City for slaughter.
Broadside.
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 16, No. 63; Impr. Of., T. 18, ff. 357-358)

135. June 15 Reglas económicas, y convenientes. . . .
Regulations for customs check-points.
Broadside.
BNM-MSS (T. 368, f. 73)

136. June 16 [name & titles] Habiendose ya dictado. . . .
M 8192 Regulations for small grocery stores.
Large broadside.
AGN, 2 (Bandos, T. 16, No. 64; Impr. Of., T. 18, f. 360)

137. June 22 Reglamento provisional para el régimen y gobierno. . . .
M 8182 Regulations for light infantry companies.
Folio, 9 p.
CU-B, 2 (Bandos, No. 69; in F 1231 M224, No. 3)
BNM-MSS (Cedulario 14-1, Militares, T. 2, No. 6)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 16, No. 60; Impr. Of., T. 18, ff. 343-352)

138. July 20
M 8188
Reglamento de los tributos de esta capital. . . .
Regulations for Indian tribute in Mexico City.
Folio, t-p, 14 p.
CU-B (Bandos, No. 70)
CSmH (57575)
BNM-MSS (Cedulario 14-1, Real Hacienda, T. 4, No. 21 of section 5)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 16, No. 55; Impr. Of., T. 18, ff. 362-377v)

139. July 24
M 8193
El exmô. sr. D. Diego Gardoqui me participa. . . .
Salaries of employees of the *real hacienda* under temporary appointment.
Folio, 3 p.
CU-B (Bandos, No. 72)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 16, No. 65; Impr. Of., T. 18, ff. 384-387)

140. July 24
M 8194
En expediente instruido por la detención de un correo. . . .
Mail routes not to be varied.
Folio, 4 p.
CU-B (Bandos, No. 71)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 16, No. 66; Impr. Of., T. 18, ff. 379-382v)

141. July 24
He venido en restablecer el exercicio. . . .
Royal order recreating the Council of State. (*Cf.* No. 148.)
Folio, 2 p.
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 16, No. 76; Impr. Of., T. 18, ff. 317-318v)

142. July 27
M 8218
El Rey.=Virrey, gobernador, y capitan general. . . .
Cognizance in business of the *cruzada*.
Folio, 4 p.
CU-B (Bandos, No. 73)
BNM-MSS (T. 377, ff. 54-55v)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 16, No. 67; Impr. Of., T. 18, ff. 278-281v)

143. July 31
El rey por real orden de. . . .
Reprint of an order of 1778 concerning contractors.
Folio, 2 p.
BNM-MSS (Cedulario 14-1, Real Hacienda, T. 1, No. 1 of section "Asentistas")

144. July 31
En fecha de 29 de marzo de este año. . . .
Appointment of Gardoqui as Secretary of State.
Folio, 1 p.
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 16, No. 68; Impr. Of., T. 18, ff. 389-390)

145. Aug. 21 [name & titles] En real despacho de 4 de febrero. . . .
M 8195 Castillian titles.
Broadside.
CU-B (Bandos, No. 74)
BNM-MSS (T. 377, f. 351)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 16, No. 72; Impr. Of., T. 18, ff. 397-398)

146. Sept. 7 [name & titles] Debiendo salir para la Havana. . . .
Announcing a ship ready to sail for Spain, prepared to transmit funds.
Broadside.
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 16, No. 73; Impr. Of., T. 19, ff. 74-75)

147. Sept. 19 Exmô. Señor.= El rey se ha servido. . . .
Form of signature of Diego de Gardoqui (a Spanish minister).
Folio, 2 p.
BNM-MSS (T. 369, ff. 131-131v)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 16, No. 74; Impr. Of., T. 18, ff. 329-330v)

148. Sept. 26 Exmô. Señor.= El rey ha resuelto. . . .
M 8221 Council of State reactivated. (*Cf.* No. 141.)
Folio, 1 p.
CU-B (Bandos, No. 75)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 16, No. 75; Impr. Of., T. 18, ff. 320-321)

149. Sept. 27 [name & titles] Deseando S. M. que. . . .
Birth of an Infante.
Broadside.
AGN (Bandos, T. 16, No. 77)

150. Sept. 28 Remito a V. el adjunto exemplar. . . .
Inclosing No. 149.
Folio, 1 p.
AGN, 2 (Bandos, T. 16, No. 78; Impr. Of., T. 18, f. 402)

151. Oct. 13 El Rey.=Virreyes, presidentes. . . .
M 8219 Forwarding No. 152.
Folio, 2 p.
CU-B (Bandos, No. 77)
CSmH (57193)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 16, No. 80; Impr. Of., T. 18, ff. 283-284v)

152. Oct. 13
M 8214
A nuestro muy amado en Cristo hijo. . . .
Papal bull of May 20, 1791, concerning ecclesiastical salaries.
Folio, 8 p.
CU-B (Bandos, No. 76)
CSmH (57223)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 16, No. 81; Impr. Of., T. 18, ff. 285-292v)

153. Oct. 20
M 8197
[name & titles] Con fecha de 1º de junio de este año. . . .
Export of small coins forbidden.
Broadside.
CU-B (Bandos, No. 78)
AGN (Bandos, T. 16, No. 82)

154. Oct. 31
M 8198
[name & titles] Con fecha de 2 de marzo del presente año. . . .
Creation of a college for American Indian nobles in Granada.
Extra large broadside.
CU-B (Bandos, No. 79)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 16, No. 83; Impr. Of., T. 19, ff. 13-14)

155. Nov. 3
M 8196
Junta superior de real hacienda octubre 5 de 1792. Vistas las reflexîones. . . .
Tribute of unmarried Indians, mulattoes, etc.
Folio, 2 p.
CU-B (Bandos, No. [70 bis])
CSmH (57587)
BNM-MSS, 2 (T. 369, ff. 262-262v; T. 377, ff. 287-287v)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 16, No. 79; Impr. Of., T. 19, ff. 2-3v)

156. Nov. 12
"Don Carlos por la gracia de Dios, rey de Castilla. . . ."
Marriage of military personnel.
Folio, 4 p.
AGN, 2 (Impr. Of., T. 19, ff. 18-21v)

157. Nov. 12
M 8199
[name & titles] Por quanto de orden. . . .
Marriage of *hijos de familia.*
Large broadside.
CU-B (Bandos, No. 81)
AGN (Bandos, T. 16, No. 85)

158. Nov. 20
[name & titles] Con el fin de que. . . .
Marriage permits for teachers.
Broadside.
CU-B (Bandos, No. 82)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 16, No. 86; Impr. Of., T. 19, ff. 16-17)

159. Nov. 27 — Reglamento provisional para el regimen, gobierno. . . .
M 8183 — Regulations for frontier militia of San Luis Colotlán.
Folio, 22 p. plus 4 of tables.
CU-B, 2 (Bandos, No. 80; in F 1231 M224, No. 2)
AGN (Bandos, T. 16, No. 84)

160. Dec. 10 — Auto 36 del tít. 4. lib. 6 mándase. . . .
Military service of vagabonds.
Folio, 8 p.
BNM-MSS (T. 374, ff. 280-283)
AGN, 2 (Impr. Of., T. 19, ff. 34-41v)

The BNM copy has "Copy. Mexico City, Sept. 16, 1794. Bonilla" added in manuscript. It is apparently printer's copy for a second edition, published just after the end of Revilla Gigedo's term. A copy of this second edition, with the above note in type, will be found in the AGN (Bandos, T. 16. No. 90).

161. Dec. 18 — México 18 de diciembre de 1792. Siendo tan escasos. . . .
Regulations for *pulque* vendors.
Folio, 12 p.
AGN, 2 (Impr. Of., T. 19, ff. 56-67v)

Reprinted with additional matter in 1793 (No. 170).

162. Dec. 30 — Desde los primeros tiempos de la conquista y adquisicion. . . .
M 8201 — Silk industry; planting of mulberries.
Folio, 2 p.
CU-B (Bandos, No. 83)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 16, No. 92; Impr. Of., T. 19, ff. 69-70v)

163. Dec. 31 — Razon de las cantidades de oro y plata. . . .
Mint statistics for 1792.
Folio, 1 p.
AGN, 2 (Bandos, T. 16, No. 93; Impr. Of., T. 19, f. 72)

164. —— — Instruccion que se ha de observar. . . .
Apostolic indulgence to eat meat.
Folio, 3 p.
BNM-MSS (T. 374, ff. 129-130, proof)

Dated in Madrid, July 1, 1792; the reprint undated. Pp. 131-132 of the same volume are the Spanish imprint, on which is written, "Six copies of this should be printed."

165. —— — "Titulo XII. Reglas que deben observarse. . . ."
Treatment of army deserters.
Folio, 4 p.
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 16, No. 94; Impr. Of., T. 19, ff. 77-80v)

No date or imprint. The copy in the Bandos series is bound at the end of 1792; the copies in Impr. Of. have a cover sheet

which reads, "1792. Article 12 of the ordinance for deserters, ordered reprinted in this year, for circulation." The type is different from that of the usual government document of the period.

1793

166. [ca. Jan. 1] Resumen de los principales frutos y efectos que han entrado. . . .
Import statistics for 1792.
Broadside sheet, but printed on both sides.
BNM-MSS (T. 371, f. 203)

167. [ca. Jan. 1] Resumen de los caudales y principales efectos que han salido. . . .
Export statistics for 1792.
Broadside sheet, but printed on both sides.
BNM-MSS (T. 371, f. 204)

168. Jan. 19
M 8272 Reglamento provisional para el régimen. . . .
Regulations for the cavalry militia of the Sierra Gorda frontier.
Folio, 17 p. plus 2 of tables.
CU-B, 2 (Bandos, No. 84; in F 1231 M224, No. 13)
BNM-MSS (Cedulario 14-1, Militares, T. 2, No. 7)
AGN, 2 (Bandos, T. 16, No. 91; Impr. Of., T. 19, ff. 43-54)

169. Jan. 22 Artículos de la real ordenanza é instrucción de intendentes. . . .
Reprint of Articles 77 and 238 of the Ordinance of Intendants.
Folio, 3 p.
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 17, No. 2; Impr. Of., T. 19, ff. 83-86)

170. Jan. 25
M 8200 México 18 de diciembre de 1792. Siendo tan escasos. . . .
Regulations for *pulque* vendors.
Folio, 15 p.
CU-B (Bandos, 2d numeration, No. 19)
BNM-MSS (T. 374, ff. 271-278, proof)
AGN (Bandos, T. 17, No. 4)

A new edition of No. 161, with additional material; a complete new setting of type. Medina cites (8274) a different title on the same subject, locating a copy in the Archivo General de Indias, but it may be the same imprint.

171. Jan. 28 El exmô. señor Don Diego de Gardoqui me participa. . . .
Service records of government employees.
Folio, 4 p.
BNM-MSS (Cedulario 14-1, Real Hacienda, T. 1, No. 45 of section 7)

172. Feb. 12
M 8299
Exmô. Señor.= En papel de 21 del corriente. . . .
Boundaries of the Provincias Internas.
Folio, 4 p.
CU-B (Bandos, No. 63)
BNM-MSS (Cedulario 14-1, Militares, T. 1, No. 33 of section 1)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 16, No. 87; Impr. Of., T. 19, ff. 23-26v)

Medina makes a slight error in saying that this reprints a royal order of Nov. 23, 1792; the order is dated Nov. 24, the 23d being the date of the covering letter to Revilla Gigedo.

173. ca. Feb. 18
Reglamento formado de órden de S. M. . . .
Regulations for accounts of tobacco factory.
Folio, t-p, 22 p.
AGN (Bandos, T. 16, No. 50)

Contains various orders and decrees, of which the latest is dated Feb. 18, 1793.

174. Feb. 19
M 8273
Reglamento provisional para el cuerpo. . . .
Regulations for cavalry militia of Nuevo Santander.
Folio, 20 p. plus 2 of tables.
CU-B, 2 (Bandos, No. 85; in F 1231 M224, No. 7)
AGN (Bandos, T. 17, No. 5)

175. Mar. 4
M 8300
Exmô. Señor = El acuerdo de la junta superior. . . .
Exemption of Indians from *alcabala*.
Folio, 2 p.
CU-B (Bandos, No. 87)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 16, No. 70; Impr. Of., T. 18, ff. 311-312v)

176. Mar. 4
Por mi real decreto de veinte y ocho de febrero del corriente año. . . .
Appointment of Godoy as Secretary of State.
Folio, 2 p.
BNM-MSS (T. 371, ff. 126-126v)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 16, No. 89; Impr. Of., T. 19, ff. 28-29v)

177. Mar. 23
[name & titles] Acercandose el tiempo de la Semana Santa. . . .
Reiteration of order of April 2, 1792, about public conduct in Holy Week.
Broadside.
AGN (Bandos, T. 17, No. 8)

178. Mar. 26 [name & titles] Por varias providencias que. . . .
M 8276 Construction and cleaning of public latrines.
Broadside.
CU-B (Bandos, 2d numeration, No. 20)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 17, No. 9; Impr. Of., T. 19, ff. 93-94)

179. Apr. 22 Instruccion que deberá observar inviolablemente. . . .
M 8277 Regulations for customs guards at Veracruz.
Folio, 28 p.
CU-B (Bandos, No. 88)
BNM-MSS, 2 (T. 371, ff. 127-140v; Cedulario 14-1, Real Hacienda, T. 3, No. 6)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 16, No. 49; Impr. Of., T. 19, ff. 166-193v)

179a. Same, variant.

A proof copy in BNM-MSS (T. 374, ff. 172-190v) consists of 38 p., with pp. 27-38 marked for printer to omit large portions; making these deletions produces pp. 27-28 of No. 179. Perhaps the 38 p. edition existed in proof only.

180. May 2 Exmô. Señor.= El fiscal de real hacienda dice. . . .
M 8275 *Alcabala* on sale of property of deceased persons.
Folio, 5 p.
AGN (Bandos, T. 17, No. 11)

181. May 8 Instruccion que han de observar los comandantes. . . .
Regulations for coast guard in the Gulf of Mexico.
Quarto, 15 p.
CSmH (57980)
BNM-MSS (Cedulario 14-1, Real Hacienda, T. 1, No. 1 of section 5)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 17, No. 10; Impr. Of., T. 19, ff. 95-110)

182. May 11 [name & titles] Las exênciones, fueros y preeminencias. . . .
Creation of a battalion of free Negroes.
Broadside.
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 17, No. 13; Impr. Of., T. 19, ff. 117-118)

183. May 12 Regimiento provincial de infantería de México. Estado que. . . .
"Table of organization" for regiment.
Folio, 4 p.
CU-B (in F 1231 M224, No. 5)
BNM-MSS (T. 374, ff. 145-146)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 17, No. 14; Impr. Of., T. 19, ff. 112-115v)

184. May 16 [name & titles] Con el justo deseo de. . . .
Treatment of deserters.
Broadside.
AGN, 4 (Bandos, T. 17, No. 16; Impr. Of., T. 19, ff. 120, 122-123)

185. May 22 Con real orden de 23 de febrero último. . . .
Military courts.
Folio, 1 p.
AGN, 2 (Bandos, T. 17, No. 18; Impr. Of., T. 19, f. 129)

186. May 22 La considerable falta que hace muchos años. . . .
Fuero militar.
Folio, 2 p.
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 17, No. 19; Impr. Of., T. 19, ff. 126-127v)

187. May 22 [name & titles] Por quanto de órden del rey. . . .
Fuero of militia.
Broadside.
BNM-MSS (Cedulario 14-1, Militares, T. 1, No. 6 of section 5)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 17, No. 17; Impr. Of., T. 19, ff. 130-131)

188. May 25 Nueva planta para la formacion del. . . .
Regulations for provincial infantry battalion of Puebla.
Folio, 3 p.
CU-B (in F 1231 M224, No. 4)
BNM-MSS (T. 374, ff. 194-195, proof?)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 17, No. 20; Impr. Of., T. 19, ff. 133-136)

189. May 28 El Rey. Por quanto con motivo de. . . .
A customs violation incident in Veracruz.
Folio, 4 p.
BNM-MSS (Cedulario 14-1, Tabaco, No. 4 of section C)
Reprint of No. 109.

190. May 29 Reglamento provisional para el régimen. . . .
M 8270 Regulations for Tabasco militia.
Folio, 28 p. plus 5 of tables.
CU-B (in F 1231 M224, No. 10)
AGN (Bandos, T. 17, No. 11)
Medina does not mention the additional pages.

191. June 18 Reglamento provisional para el régimen. . . .
Regulations for Gulf coast militia.
Folio, 28 p. plus 8 of tables.
CU-B (in F 1231 M224, No. 9)

CSmH (95838, lacking the tables)
BNM-MSS (Cedulario 14-1, Militares, T. 2, No. [8])
AGN (Bandos, T. 17, No. 15)

Not in Medina, but No. 81 in Francisco González de Cossío, *La imprenta en México, 1594-1820, cien adiciones a . . . Medina* (México, 1947).

192. June 19 Dirijo á V. exemplares del bando. . . .
Inclosing No. 193.
Folio, 1 p.
AGN, 2 (Bandos, T. 17, No. 22; Impr. Of., T. 19, f. 138)

193. June 19 [name & titles] Por quanto el rey. . . .
Declaration of war with France.
Broadside.
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 17, No. 21; Impr. Of., T. 19, ff. 139-140)

Reprinted in Nicolas Rangel, ed., *Los precursores ideologicos de la guerra de Independencia* (México, 1929-1932), I: 125-129.

194. June 21 [name & titles] Desde el dia en que llegaron. . . .
French Revolution.
Broadside.
BNM-MSS (T. 371, f. 114)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 17, No. 23; Impr. Of., T. 19, ff. 142-143)

195. June 23 Reglamento de prest, sueldos y gratificaciones. . . .
Regulations for a proposed new battalion at Veracruz.
Folio, 3 p.
CU-B (in F 1231 M224, No. 6)
BNM-MSS (T. 374, ff. 210-211, proof?)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 17, No. 24; Impr. Of., T. 19, ff. 145-148)

196. June 27 Exmô. Señor.= En 13 de enero de 1791. . . .
Tribunal de minería.
Folio, 7 p.
CSmH (183651)
BNM-MSS (T. 371, ff. 144-147)
AGN (Bandos, T. 17, No. 25)

197. June 28 El exmô. señor Don Pedro Acuña me ha. . . .
Prayers for victory in war with France.
Broadside.
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 17, No. 26; Impr. Of., T. 19, ff. 150-151)

198. July 3 — Instruccion que los tesoreros. . . .
Accounts of construction of parish churches.
Folio, 4 p.
BNM-MSS (T. 374, ff. 222-223v, proof)
Signed by an official of the central accounting office, Juan Ignacio de la Fuente.

199. July 3
M 8378 — [titles of the *audiencia*] Por quanto S. M. . . .
Decisions on regulations concerning marriage.
Broadside.
BNM-MSS (T. 371, f. 150)
AGN, 2 (Bandos, T. 17, No. 27; Impr. Of., T. 19, f. 153)

200. July 6 — Con el fin de evitar la repiticion. . . .
Interpretation of militia *fuero*.
Folio, 1 p.
BNM-MSS, 2 (T. 376, f. 157; Cedulario 14-1, Militares, T. 1, No. 1 of section 5)
AGN (Bandos, T. 17, No. 29)

201. July 6 — Exmô. Señor = Con motivo de estar. . . .
Media anata of temporary employees.
Folio, 2 p.
BNM-MSS, 3 (T. 371, ff. 148-148v; T. 373, ff. 15-15v; T. 374, ff. 130-130v, proof)
AGN, 2 (Bandos, T. 17, No. 28; Impr. Of., T. 19, ff. 88-88v)

202. July 13 — Acompaño a V. exemplares del bando. . . .
Inclosing No. 203.
Folio, 1 p.
AGN, 2 (Impr. Of., T. 19, ff. 155-156)

203. July 13 — [name & titles] Por quanto de órden del rey. . . .
Creation of a company of "royal guards."
Broadside.
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 17, No. 30; Impr. Of., T. 19, ff. 167-168)

204. July 16 — El exmô. señor D. Diego de Gardoqui me comunicó. . . .
Salaries of employees of *real hacienda*.
Folio, 1 p.
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 17, No. 31; Impr. Of., T. 19, ff. 160-161)

205. July 18 — [name & titles] Las actuales circunstancias han hecho. . . .
Wheat prices.
Large broadside.
BNM-MSS (Cedulario 14-1, Comercio, No. 28 of section 2)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 17, No. 32; Impr. Of., T. 19, ff. 163-164)

206. July 20 — Exmô. Señor = Sobre varias dudas. . . .
Payment of *media anata* by personnel of customs service.
Folio, 2 p.
CSmH (57969)
BNM-MSS (T. 370, ff. 86-86v)
AGN, 2 (Impr. Of., T. 19, ff. 31-32v)
Inclosed in circular of Aug. 1, 1793 (Appendix A, No. 28).

207. July 20 — [name & titles of Gamboa[5]] Por quanto con el fin de evitar. . . .
Regulations for imposing fines.
Folio, 7 p.
BNM-MSS (T. 374, ff. 140-143, proof)
AGN (Bandos, T. 16, No. 88)
No. 222 is covering letter for this.

208. July 31 — Deseando el rey por el bien público. . . .
Publication of results of a botanical expedition to Mexico.
Folio, 3 p.
BNM-MSS (T. 374, ff. 191-192, proof)

209. Aug. 7 — En real orden de 18 de abril último. . . .
Intendancy of Mexico combined with office of Superintendent (and Viceroy).
Folio, 2 p.
AGN, 2 (Bandos, T. 17, No. 39; Impr. Of., T. 19, ff. 197-197v)

209a. — Same, variant. In addition to being dated August 7, this says, "Copy. August 7, 1793."
BNM-MSS (T. 371, ff. 212-212v)
AGN (Impr. Of., T. 19, ff. 199-199v)

210. Aug. 7 — Por real orden de 18 de abril. . . .
Same subject as No. 209.
Folio, 1 p.
AGN (Bandos, T. 17, No. 37)

211. Aug. 7 — Resuelta por S. M. en real orden. . . .
Same subject as No. 209.
Folio, 1 p.
AGN (Bandos, T. 17, No. 38)

212. Aug. 18 — [name & titles] Don Manuel Antonio Valdés impresor. . . .
Approval of proposal to operate coaches for hire.
Quarto, 18 p.
AGN (Bandos, T. 17, No. 35)

[5] Francisco Xavier de Gamboa, *regente* of the *audiencia* of Mexico City.

213. Aug. 21 [name & titles] La particular atencion. . . .
Regulations for public baths.
Folio, 5 p.
CSmH (57851)
BNM-MSS (T. 374, ff. 297-299)
AGN (Bandos, T. 17, No. 42)
No. 242 is an appendix to this item.

213a. Same, variant. Large broadside.
AGN (Impr. Of., T. 19, f. 205)

214. Aug. [23] Acompaño á V. exemplares del bando. . . .
Inclosing No. 215.
Folio, 1 p.
AGN, 2 (Bandos, T. 17, No. 44; Impr. Of., T. 19, f. 124)
Date inserted by hand in Impr. Of. copy.

215. Aug. 23 [name & titles] Por quanto el exmô. señor. . . .
Royal amnesty to deserters from army and navy.
Broadside.
AGN (Bandos, T. 17, No. 43)

216. Aug. 28 Con motivo de compatencia ocurrida. . . .
Jurisdiction over soldiers' offenses.
Folio, 1 p.
BNM-MSS (T. 376, f. 158)
AGN (Bandos, T. 17, No. 45)

217. Aug. 29 [name & titles] Habiendose el rey. . . .
Naval *fuero.*
Broadside.
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 17, No. 46; Impr. Of., T. 19, ff. 207-208)
Inclosed in No. 219.

218. Sept. [7] Con fecha de 20 de abril último. . . .
Salaries of missionaries in New Mexico.
Folio, 4 p.
BNM-MSS (T. 374, ff. 220-221v, proof)
AGN (Bandos, T. 17, No. 48)
Date inserted by hand in AGN copy.

219. Sept. 7 Por real decreto de 9 de febrero. . . .
Inclosing No. 217.
Folio, 1 p.
AGN, 2 (Bandos, T. 17, No. 47; Impr. Of., T. 19, f. 209)

220. Sept. 18 Reglamento provisional para el régimen. . . .
Regulations for commercial infantry regiment of Mexico City.

Folio, 13 p.
CU-B (in F 1231 M224, No. 12)
CSmH (57577)
BNM-MSS (T. 374, ff. 122-128)
AGN (Bandos, T. 17, No. 40)

221. Sept. 20 Reglamento provisional para el régimen. . . .
Regulations for commercial infantry regiment of Puebla.
Folio, 11 p.
CU-B (in F 1231 M224, No. 11)
AGN, 2 (Bandos, T. 17, No. 49; Corr. virr., T. 18/171, ff. 274-279)

222. Sept. 24 Intendencia. Acompaño á Vm. un exemplar. . . .
Inclosing No. 207.
Folio, 1 p.
BNM-MSS (T. 374, f. 139, proof)
Marked to have 60 copies printed.

223. [Sept. 27] M 8279 Ordenanza para la formación de los autos de visitas. . . .
Regulations for census and tribute lists.
Folio, t-p, 22 p.
BNM-MSS, 2 (T. 372, ff. 303-314v; Cedulario 14-1, Real Hacienda, T. 4, No. 22 of section 5)
AGN (Bandos, T. 17, No. 55)
AGN copy dated in manuscript; date is verified by No. 237, which is supplementary to this item.
Medina's entry, drawn from a secondary source, is inexact in wording.

224. Sept. 30 Intendencia. Con oficio de 7 de marzo. . . .
Exemption of Negroes from *alcabala*.
Folio, 1 p.
BNM-MSS (T. 374, f. 134, proof, with corrected proof on verso)

225. Oct. 8 Intendencia. Aunque el avisar. . . .
Merging of intendancy of Mexico with position of Superintendent.
Folio, 1 p.
BNM-MSS (T. 374, f. 133, proof)

226. Oct. 9 [name & titles] El rey nuestro señor se ha dignado. . . .
Permits for soldiers to return to Spain. (*Cf.* No. 231.)
Broadside.
AGN (Bandos, T. 17, No. 51)

227. Oct. 9 Intendencia. Deduciéndose de los papeles y documentos. . . .
Bienes de comunidades.
Folio, 1 p.
BNM-MSS (T. 374, f. 135, proof)

228. Oct. 21 Intendencia. Prevengo á Vm. me remita. . . .
Calling for reports on factories, mills, watercourses, etc.
Folio, 1 p.
BNM-MSS (T. 374, f. 213, proof)

229. Oct. 22
M 8271 Reglamento provisional para el régimen. . . .
Regulations for the west coast militia.
Folio, 20 p. plus 7 leaves.
CU-B (in F 1231 M224, No. 8)
BNM-MSS (T. 374, ff. 147-168)
AGN (Bandos, T. 17, No. 50)
Medina does not record the extra leaves.

230. Oct. 22 Teniendo resuelto, que el dos por ciento de. . . .
Change in form of payment of community funds of Indians.
Folio, 1 p.
BNM-MSS (T. 374, f. 212, proof)

231. Oct. 25 Intendencia. El rey se ha dignado. . . .
Licenses for soldiers to go to Spain. (*Cf.* No. 226.)
Folio, 1 p.
BNM-MSS (T. 374, f. 169, proof?)

232. Oct. 29 Intendencia. Las leyes 43 títº 12. . . .
Forbidding priests to receive personal service from Indians.
Folio, 1 p.
BNM-MSS (T. 374, f. 170, proof, with corrected proof on verso)

233. Nov. 7 [name & titles] Acaba de dar fondo. . . .
Announcing a ship ready to sail for Spain, prepared to transmit funds.
Broadside.
AGN (Bandos, T. 17, No. 52)

234. Nov. 9 Por decreto de 6 de octubre de 1776. . . .
Reiteration of Viceroy Bucareli's orders on funds collected from sale of papal bulls.
Folio, 1 p.
BNM-MSS (T. 374, f. 218, proof)
AGN (Bandos, T. 17, No. 53)
Addressed to "Señor Cura de [blank]."

235. Nov. 21 [name & titles] Sin embargo de que. . . .
Extending time to turn in old money.
Broadside.
BNM-MSS (T. 372, f. 44)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 17, No. 54; Impr. Of., T. 19, ff. 212-213)

236. Nov. 31 Intendencia. Con el fin de tener. . . .
Calling for statistics on each province.
Folio, 3 p.
BNM-MSS (T. 374, ff. 250-251, proof)
Accompanied by a blank form, a broadside sheet printed on both sides.

237. Dec. 2 Siendo muy importantes y estando. . . .
Supplemental orders and forms for the regulation on censuses and tribute lists (No. 223).
Folio, 4 p. plus 7 leaves of tables.
BNM-MSS (T. 372, ff. 315-323v)
AGN (Bandos, T. 17, No. 56)
Verso of first page blank; p. [3] begins, "Formulario de las matrículas de tributarios. . . ."

238. Dec. 30 Intendencia. Los recomendables objetos. . . .
Bienes de comunidades.
Folio, 4 p.
AGN (Bandos, T. 17, No. 113)

239. Dec. 31 Intendencia. Por resolucion mia está prevenido. . . .
Subdelegates not to absent selves from posts.
Folio, 1 p.
AGN (Bandos, T. 17, No. 114)

240. Dec. 31 Exmô. Señor = Sin embargo de que. . . .
Media anata eclesiastica.
Folio, 2 p.
BNM-MSS (T. 374, ff. 101-101v, proof)
Marked to have 100 copies printed.

241. Dec. 31 Estado general, que manifiesta la entrada, salida. . . .
Financial statistics of the *tribunal de minería.*
Broadside.
BNM-MSS (T. 373, f. 184)
Signed by Manuel Prieto y García.

242. Dec. 31 Apéndice al reglamento formado para . . . los baños. . . .
Additions to No. 213.
Folio, 4 p.
CSmH (57582)
BNM-MSS (T. 374, ff. 300-300v, incomplete)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 17, No. 57; Impr. Of., T. 19, ff. 201-204v)

243. —— Compendio en que se manifiesta. . . .
M 8236 Instructions for raising silkworms.
Quarto, t-p, 4 unnumb. p., 34 numb. p.
CU-B, photostat (F. 1222.3 C5 x)

BNM-MSS (T. 374, ff. 230-249v)
AGN (Bandos, T. 17, No. 62)

Medina ascribes this to José Antonio de Alzate, on the authority of Beristain.[6]

Medina 8316 is what seems to be a short-title entry of the same item, dated 1794, on the authority of the *Gazeta de México*. Since no copy was found, this may not really represent a separate printing.

Reprinted in Mexico in 1830 with the title *Instrucción sobre el cultivo de moreras. . .* (in *Colección de memorias instructivas . . .*, CU-B, F 122.3 C6).

244. —— Estado demostrativo, ó índice alfabetico. . . .
M 8239 Directory of Mexico City streets and *cuarteles.*
Quarto, t-p, 32 p.
CU-B (Bandos, 2d numeration, No. 21)
AGN (Bandos, T. 17, No. 70)

CU-B copy has four additional pages, headed "Noticia de los nombres de los jueces mayores . . . ," dated April 9, 1793. AGN copy has similar additional pages dated March 24, 1794, though title-page still bears 1793 date.

245. —— Ordenanza de la division de la novilísima ciudad. . . .
M 8290 Viceroy Mayorga's ordinances for the division of Mexico City, creation of *alcaldes de cuartel*, etc.
Folio, 41 p., with plan.

None seen. Medina locates none, citing the item from an auction catalog. A copy was offered for sale by a book dealer in Mexico City in 1948.[7]

There was at least one earlier edition, in 1782 (BNM-MSS, T. 347, ff. 340-363).

1794

246. [ca. Jan. 1] Estado de las embarcaciones que han entrado. . . .
Import statistics for 1793.
Broadside sheet, printed on both sides.
BNM-MSS (T. 372, f. 297)

247. [ca. Jan. 1] Estado de las embarcaciones que han salido. . . .
Export statistics for 1793.
Broadside sheet, printed on both sides.
BNM-MSS (T. 372, f. 298)

[6] José Mariano Beristain de Souza, *Biblioteca hispano americana setentrional . . .* 2d edition (Amecameca, 1883), I: 68.

[7] Antigua Librería Robredo, Catálogo 10, No. 7913.

248. [ca. Jan. 1] Lista de los escribanos matriculados . . . para el presente año de 1794. . . .
List of scribes licensed for 1794.
Large broadside.
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 17, No. 66; Impr. Of., T. 19, ff. 335-336)

249. Jan. 22 Intendencia. Haviendo resuelto. . . .
Routing of papers.
Folio, 1 p.
BNM-MSS (T. 374, f. 306, proof)

250. Feb. 1 Por la lista que la real sala del crimen me ha pasado. . . .
Failure to keep up contribution pledged to foundling home.
Folio, 1 p.
BNM-MSS (T. 374, f. 269, proof)
Intended to be addressed to an individual; blanks left for name and the amount involved.

251. Feb. 17 Remito á V. exemplares del bando. . . .
Inclosing No. 252.
Folio, 1 p.
BNM-MSS (T. 374, f. 256, proof)
AGN, 2 (Bandos, T. 17, No. 67; Impr. Of., T. 19, f. 220)

252. Feb. 17 [name & titles] Habiéndose visto en junta superior. . . .
Exemption from export duties on beaver skins.
Broadside.
BNM-MSS (Cedulario 14-1, Comercio, No. 28 of section 2)
AGN, 2 (Bandos, T. 17, No. 68; Impr. Of., T. 19, f. 223)
The manuscript for the printer (BNM-MSS, T. 374, ff. 255-255v) is marked for 500 copies, written over 400.

253. Feb. 25 Intendencia. Por la reunion de. . . .
Routing of papers.
Folio, 2 p.
BNM-MSS (T. 374, ff. 228-228v, proof)
Marked to have 60 copies printed.

254. Feb. 25 Por orden circular de 30 de diciembre. . . .
M 8282 Forwarding instructions for raising silkworms (No. 243)
Folio, 2 p.
BNM-MSS (T. 374, ff. 229-229v, proof)
Marked to have 100 copies printed.

255. Mar. 3 [name & titles] Con el importante benefico fin. . . .
Permitting coinage of *cuartillos*.
Broadside.
CSmH (57970)

AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 17, No. 69; Impr. Of., T. 19, ff. 224-225)

Inclosed in circular of March 12, 1794 (Appendix A, No. 37).

256. Mar. 15 Exmô. Señor = El fiscal de real hacienda dice. . . .
Bonds of executives.
Folio, 4 p.
BNM-MSS, 2 (T. 379, ff. 189-190v; Cedulario 14-1, Alcabalas, T. 1, No. 4 of section F)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 17, No. 65; Impr. Of., T. 19, ff. 215-218v)

[ca. Mar. 15 Convenio entre el rey . . . y el rey de la Gran Bretaña . . . 1793. . . .]

AGN, Bandos, T. 17, No. 107 is a copy of the Spanish imprint of this title (quarto, t-p, 22 p., with text in both English and Spanish). At the end is a manuscript order signed by Revilla Gigedo, dated March 13, 1794, directing that the Spanish text be reprinted. No copy of such an imprint found, however.

257. Mar. 19 Reglamento para las milicias de infantería. . . .
Regulations for Yucatan militia.
Folio, t-p, 64 p.
BNM-MSS (T. 374, ff. 68-100v)

258. Mar. 20 Por quanto la abadesa y religiosas. . . .
Permission for a Spanish convent to solict funds in Mexico.
Folio, 4 p.
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 17, No. 102; Impr. Of., T. 19, ff. 322-325v)

259. Mar. 20 Reglamento para la tropa de infanteria. . . .
Regulations for regular troops in Yucatán.
Folio, t-p, 10 p.
BNM-MSS (T. 374, ff. 62-67v)

260. Apr. 10 [name & titles] Con fecha de 1º de. . . .
Permission for Ramón Marquez to trade in the Californias.
Broadside.
BNM-MSS (Cedulario 14-1, Comercio, No. 27 of section 2)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 17, No. 71; Impr. Of., T. 19, ff. 227-228)

261. Apr. 13 Exmô. Señor. Ha merecido la aprobacion del rey. . . .
Alcabala on swine in Toluca.
Folio, 3 p.
CSmH (57971)
BNM-MSS, 2 (T. 374, ff. 267-268, proof; Cedulario 14-1, Alcabalas, T. 2, No. 20 of section G)

The proof marked to have 200 copies printed.
Inclosed in circular of May 6, 1794 (Appendix A, No. 39).

262. Apr. 15 [name & titles] Para poner en el mejor orden. . . .
Regulations for tobacco factory. *Cf.* No. 267.
Large broadside.
BNM-MSS (Cedulario 14-1, Tabaco, No. 8 of section P)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 17, No. 72; Impr. Of., T. 19, ff. 230-231)

263. Apr. 23 [name & titles] El exmô. señor. . . .
Viceroy Bucareli's order of 1777 authorizing surgeons to treat wounds without a legal order.
Broadside.
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 17, No. 73; Impr. Of., T. 19, ff. 223-224)
Reprinted in Rómulo Velasco Ceballos *La cirugía mexicana en el siglo XVIII* (México, 1946), pp. 431-433.

264. Apr. 25 El exmô. señor Duque de la Alcudia, me participa. . . .
Appointment of a new Secretary of State.
Folio, 2 p.
BNM-MSS (T. 374, ff. 260-260v, proof)
AGN, 2 (Impr. Of., T. 19, ff. 239-240v)
The proof marked for 150 copies.

265. Apr. 25 [name & titles] En real orden fecha en San Lorenzo. . . .
Creating San Carlos de Matanzas a *puerto menor.*
Broadside.
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 17, No. 75; Impr. Of., T. 19, ff. 236-237)

266. May 9 [name & titles] Con fecha de 3 de febrero. . . .
Supplies for the tobacco *renta.*
Large broadside.
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 17, No. 78; Impr. Of., T. 19, ff. 266-267)
Reprint and reiteration of No. 20.

267. May 16 [name & titles] Por quanto despues de expedido. . . .
Working conditions in tobacco factory.
Broadside.
BNM-MSS (Cedulario 14-1, Tabaco, No. [8 bis] of section P)
AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 17, No. 79; Impr. Of., T. 19, ff. 269-270)
Supplementary to No. 262.

268. May 17 [name & titles] Segun las leyes y. . . .
Alcabala on resales.
Broadside.
BNM-MSS (Cedulario 14-1, Alcabalas, T. 2, No. 11 of section R)

AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 17, No. 80; Impr. Of., T. 19, ff. 272-273)

[May 31] In a letter of this date to Minister Gardoqui (AGN, Corr. virr., reservadas, T. 29, ff. 30-31), Revilla Gigedo says that on that day he had published a *bando* announcing resumption of two percent increase in the *alcabala* because of the war. No printed copy found.

269. May — Muy Señor Mio: Habiéndose levantado de mi orden. . . .
Soliciting funds to engrave and print a map of Mexico City.
Folio, 1 p.
AGN (Bandos, T. 17, No. 116)

270. [May —] Muy Señor Mio: Por la contestacion de V. á mi carta. . . .
Acknowledgement of pledge in response to No. 269.
Folio, 1 p.
AGN (Bandos, T. 17, No. 117)

Both month and day left blank, but doubtless printed at same time as No. 269.

271. June 4 Aviso al publico. Superadas las dificultades que. . . .
Cleanliness of city.
Broadside.
BNM-MSS (T. 374, f. 224, proof?)

272. June 11 Estado en que se manifiesta el detall [*sic*]. . . .
M 8381 Regulations for enlistment of militia.
Folio, t-p, 22 p.
BNM-MSS, 2 (T. 374, ff. 196-207v, 285-296v)

273. July 2 [name & titles] Hallandose en el puerto de Veracruz. . . .
Announcing a ship ready to sail for Spain, prepared to transmit funds.
Broadside.
AGN (Bandos, T. 17, No. 82)

274. July 9 [name & titles] Por quanto en real cédula. . . .
Execution of Louis XVI.
Broadside.
AGN, 2 (Bandos, T. 17, No. 84; Impr. Of., T. 19, f. 293)

275. —— Coleccion de providencias expedidas . . . para . . . la secretaria. . . .
Compilation of regulations relating to the viceregal secretariat.
Folio, t-p, 42 p.
AGN (Bandos, T. 17, No. 6)
BNM-MSS (T. 374, ff. 225-226v, proof of one signature only).

Reprints more than a dozen of Revilla Gigedo's orders governing the viceregal secretariat and archives. The last is dated March 4, 1793, and the title-page date is 1794.

17—

276. Nota de los nombres de las ciudades. . . .
List of customs houses.
Folio, 4 p.
BNM-MSS (T. 367, ff. 274-275v)
Undated; bound in a volume with imprints and manuscripts of 1789-1792.

APPENDIX A

Circular Series

During the administration of Revilla Gigedo, the director of the *alcabala* and the tax on *pulque* was Juan Navarro, over whose signature there came out a series of circulars, some headed "Circular," some "Circular. Alcabalas," and some "Circular. Pulques." Those found, including two in manuscript and seven in printer's copy, are here listed. Each is entered by date only, and not described in detail as are the documents in the main checklist. All are folio in size, and deal with routine matters, being usually only two or three pages.

1790

1. Jan. 2 — CU-B (Bandos, No. 6); AGN (Bandos, T. 15, No. 6)
2. Jan. 7 — BNM-MSS (T. 363, f. 312, proof)
3. Jan. 8 — BNM-MSS (T. 363, f. 309)
4. Apr. 15 — CSmH[1]
5. May 12 — CSmH
6. May 17 — CSmH
7. May 27 — CSmH
8. May 29 — AGN (Impr. Of., T. 17, ff. 217-218)
9. Sept. 20 — CSmH (manuscript)

1791

10. Feb. 14 — CU-B (Bandos, No. 35); AGN (Bandos, T. 16, No. 3)
11. June 28 — CU-B (Bandos, No. 44); CSmH; AGN, 3 (Bandos, T. 16, No. 21; Impr. Of., T. 18, ff. 127-128v)
12. June 30 — CSmH
13. Aug. 29 — CSmH; AGN (Impr. Of., T. 18, ff. 223-224v)
14. Oct. 19 — CSmH

[1] All copies in CSmH are in a made-up volume which includes call numbers 57957-57980.

1792

15. Feb. 20 CSmH
16. Mar. 6 CSmH
17. Mar. 29 CSmH
18. Apr. 15 CSmH
19. Sept. 26 CSmH (manuscript)
20. Oct. 11 CSmH

1793

21. Feb. 6 CSmH (accompanied by a blank service record for civil service employees)
22. Feb. 12 BNM-MSS (Cedulario 14-1, Real Hacienda, T. 5, No. 2 of section 21)
23. Mar. 11 CSmH
24. Mar. 12 CSmH
25. Apr. 20 BNM-MSS, printer's MS (T. 374, f. 171) [2]
26. May 27 CSmH
27. May 28 BNM-MSS, printer's MS (T. 374, ff. 193-193v) [3]
28. Aug. 1 CSmH (inclosing No. 208 of Checklist)
29. Sept. 6 BNM-MSS (T. 374, ff. 144-144v, proof)
30. Sept. 19 BNM-MSS (T. 374, ff. 257-257v, proof; T. 380, ff. 281-281v)
31. Sept. 26 BNM-MSS (T. 374, ff. 208-209, proof)
32. Sept. — BNM-MSS, printer's MS (T. 374, ff. 137-138) [3]
33. Oct. 1 BNM-MSS, printer's MS (T. 374, ff. 136-136v) [3]
34. Nov. 11 BNM-MSS, printer's MS (T. 374, f. 219) [4]
35. Dec. 2 BNM-MSS, printer's MS (T. 374, ff. 253-254)

1794

36. Jan. 22 BNM-MSS (T. 374, ff. 301-301v, proof)
37. Mar. 12 CSmH; BNM-MSS (T. 374, f. 302, proof) [5] (inclosing No. 255 of Checklist)
38. May 1 BNM-MSS (T. 374, f. 261v, proof)
39. May 6 CSmH; BNM-MSS, 2 (T. 374, f. 261, proof; *ibid.*, f. 266, an earlier proof) [6] (inclosing No. 261 of Checklist)
40. June 21 BNM-MSS, printer's MS (T. 374, ff. 270-270v)

[2] Marked to have 250 copies printed.

[3] Marked to have 250 copies printed.

[4] Marked to have 200 copies printed.

[5] According to notes taken in Mexico City and not now verifiable, the BNM proof copy is dated March 15. This may be the writer's error, but it is possible that the date of the document was advanced between the proof state and the final printing. Marked to have 200 copies printed.

[6] Marked to have 100 copies printed.

APPENDIX B

Marginal Titles

The following are Revilla Gigedo orders printed after his departure, items not verified in person or in a standard bibliography, and others in some way marginal to the study.

1. 1789, ——
M 7903

Reglamento del monte pio de viudas. . . .
Regulations for *monte pío* for widows and orphans of army officers.
Folio, t-p, variant t-p, 43 p., half-title, [51] p., half-title, 4 p.
BNM-MSS (T. 377, ff. 373-426v)
It is not clear if this was printed before or after Revilla Gigedo's assumption of office in 1789.

2. [1790, ——]

Escritura que deben otorgar los fiadores. . . .
Form of bond required of officials of the tobacco *renta.*
Folio, 3 p.
A copy was offered for sale in Philadelphia in 1948.[1]

3. 1793, ——

Provincia de ——, Misiones de ——, Noticia de las misiones. . . .
Blank form reporting data on missions for 1793-1794.
Folio, 2 p.
BNM-MSS (T. 374, ff. 284-284v)
AGN (Bandos, T. 17, No. 59, with a completed sample)
AGN, Bandos, T. 17, No. 58 is a shorter version of the same form, without the years indicated.

4. 1794, Apr. 28

Aviso al publico. Para la mayor seguridad, decencia. . . .
Rules for conduct in the theater.
Broadside.
AGN (Bandos, T. 17, No. 76)
Unsigned. Refers to the viceroy in the third person.

5. 1794, July 16

Exmô. Señor.= El fiscal de lo civil. . . .
Sentence of a tobacco official for misappropriation of funds.
Folio, 4 p.
BNM-MSS (Cedulario 14-1, Tabaco, No. 9 of section P)
AGN (Impr. Of., T. 19, ff. 307-308v)
A decree of Revilla Gigedo dated July 7, 1794, with an unsigned decree of July 16, five days after he left office.

[1] The Rosenbach Company, Catalogue "American Broadsides . . ." [1948], Item 76.

6. 1794, [ca. Aug. 20] M 8331
Instrucción que debe observarse. . . .
Regulations for customs guards.
Folio, t-p, 39 p. plus 2 of tables.
CU-B (F 1231 M26)
CSmH (57977)
AGN (Bandos, T. 17, No. 64)
Title-page indicates that this code was drawn up at Revilla Gigedo's order, but it must have been printed after his departure, for it contains the date of August 20, 1794.

7. 1794, Sept. 16
Auto 36 del tít. 4. lib. 6. mándase. . . .
Reprint of Checklist, No. 160 (*q.v.*).

Edwin H. Carpenter, Jr.

The Huntington Library

Sällskapet Bokvännerna and Its Publications

In these days when the so-called democratization of educational opportunity has produced rather negative results from a qualitative standpoint, we may properly be somewhat skeptical about attempts to encourage book collecting and related virtues among the masses. And yet just such a policy is the only salvation for bibliophily in a day when it is no longer possible to amass the fortune of a Huntington, a Folger, or a Morgan. We must reconcile ourselves to a program of recruiting many small-scale collectors to take the place of the giants of the early part of the century.

In the universities we have been rather successful in encouraging undergraduates to collect books and present their lists in open competition. Noteworthy examples of such student book-collecting contests are those at Virginia, Kentucky, and Dartmouth. There have also been efforts by printers and publishers from the days of Elbert Hubbard and Thomas B. Mosher to the present to encourage the appreciation and collecting of books of permanent value in editions whose production has received the personal supervision of craftsmen; and there have been projects in England and America to place the distribution of well-printed classics on a subscription basis. In Scandinavia bibliophiles have organized more formally; and in at least one instance, that of the Sällskapet Bokvännerna, there has been a marked degree of success.

Sällskapet Bokvännerna (referred to hereafter as SB) had its origins in January 1946. A group of Swedish literary personalities, including such

well-known names as Harry Martinson, Hans Botwid, and Per E. Rundquist had gathered at the home of Thure Nyman, who was later to become editor, publisher, treasurer, and spark plug-in-general for SB. In a post-prandial chat Nyman suggested the formation of a society to promote the reading of the best literature in the most attractive format. The proposal met with varied reactions and attracted a good many inquiries, and it even received some publicity. Later that winter (in fact, on a Sunday afternoon ski party near Edsviken), Nyman and a friend decided to set up a formal organization to be known as Sällskapet Bokvännerna.

They secured the use of a school room in Helenelund and sent invitations to everyone who had made inquiries about the organization. Sixteen interested persons attended, all from the immediate vicinity except two, Åke Runnquist, now editor of *Bonniers Litterära Magasin*, and Per A. Sjögren, the present chairman and one of the most vigorous supporters of the organization throughout its entire history. An executive board was appointed and by-laws drawn up.

One of the first activities was a program of readings by Harry Martinson, Ivar Harrie, and Ture Rangström at the grammar school in Tureberg. There was a full house with many participants who had come from Stockholm via bus and train. Other literary evenings held from time to time have been attended by outstanding leaders of modern Swedish literature.

In September 1946 it was decided to issue a journal for members, dedicated to the announced purpose of SB, "att främja förståelsen för boken som konst i både litterär och teknisk mening" ("to promote understanding for the book as art in a literary as well as a technical sense"). The first number of *Bokvännen* appeared in September 1946, and at present it is in its sixth volume with eight numbers scheduled to appear this year. Contents include articles on all aspects of literature and bibliology in the broadest sense. The last number assigned to a member in the May 1951 issue was 3846.

But perhaps the more important service of SB is the publication of good literature in fine editions. The modest membership fee of ten crowns includes only *Bokvännen* and one gift book a year, but all of the two dozen books published thus far by SB are within reach of the average book-buying purse. Even the special edition of *Venerid* sells for less than fifteen United States dollars. But the checklist speaks for itself.

SEPARATE PUBLICATIONS OF THE SÄLLSKAPET BOKVÄNNERNA

Bokvännens Bibliotek

1. Berndtsson, G. E. *Allsvensk samling.* [Stockholm], Sällskapet Bokvännerna, 1947. [112] pp. (Bokvännens Bibliotek, 1.) 5½″ x 8⅜″.

500 copies on *lyxtryck* paper from Finbruken. Printed in 10-point Garamond on 12-point body, by AB Gustaf Lindströms Boktryckeri, Stockholm. Typography by Willy Stillert; decorated paper wrappers by Rakel Tegnér in accordance with the suggestion of Willy Stillert. Facsimiles and other illustrations by AB Grohmann & Eichelberg.

2. Yran, Knut. *Exlibris; en orientering om bokägaremärken.* Stockholm, Sällskapet Bokvännerna, 1948. [96 pp.] (Bokvännens Bibliotek, 2.) 5⅛″ x 8⅜″.

500 copies on 100 gr. *T. F. fjäderlätt* paper, of which 450 were numbered for the society's members. Printed in 10-point Garamond Roman on 12-point body by AB Gustaf Lindströms Boktryckeri, Stockholm. Typography by Willy Stillert. Original published under title *Ex Libris, en orientering om bokejermerker* by Cammermeyers Boghandel, Oslo, in 1946. Facsimiles.

3. *Bröllopsbesvärs ihugkommelse.* Stockholm, Sällskapet Bokvännerna, 1948, [48 pp.] (Bokvännens Bibliotek, 3.) 6¾″ x 9″.

500 copies on 125 gr. *lyxtryck* paper from Finbruken numbered 1-500, twenty copies on 85 gr. handmade rag paper from Tumba with all full-page illustrations signed by the artist and numbered I-XX, and fifty-five unnumbered copies for distribution by the publisher. Printed in 12-point Bodoni by AB Gustaf Lindströms Boktryckeri, Stockholm. Typography by Willy Stillert after general plan of Sven Ljungberg. Illustrations printed directly from woodcuts by Sven Ljungberg.

4. Ehrensvärd, Carl August. *Resa till Italien.* Stockholm, Sällskapet Bokvännerna, 1947. [98 pp.] + 38 full-page plates + 4 unnumbered leaves. (Bokvännens Bibliotek, 4.) 5½″ x 8⅜″.

100 copies with copper engravings (no. 4 A) and 500 copies with photoengravings by AB Grohmann & Eichelberg (no. 4 B) on 125 gr. *lyxtryck* paper from Finbruken. Printed in 18-point Monotype Garamond by Victor Pettersons Bokindustri AB, Stockholm. Typography by Axel Frändberg on the basis of the text first published in Stockholm in 1786. Illustrations selected from drawings and water colors by the author in the library of the Kungliga Akademien för de fria konsterna and for the most part hitherto unpublished.

5. Laurin, Carl G., and Söderberg, Hjalmar. *Vänner emellan: en brevväxling,* Stockholm. Sällskapet Bokvännerna, 1948. [172 pp.] (Bokvännens Bibliotek, 5.) 5″ x 8⅛″.

1,500 copies, of which 500 were numbered for the Society's members, on 120 gr. *gravyrpapper* from Finbruken. Printed in 10-point Garamond Roman by AB Gustaf Lindströms Boktryckeri, Stockholm. Typography by Willy Stillert. Text illustrated by drawings of the two correspondents, and drawing on cover by Edward Lindahl after a suggestion by Willy Stillert. Commentary by Herbert Friedländer and Ernst C:son Bredberg. Index of names compiled by Tom Söderberg.

6. Öhman, Ivar, ed. *Berömda berättare.* Stockholm, Sällskapet Bokvännerna, [1949]. [282 pp.] (Bokvännens Bibliotek, 6.) 5¾″ x 7⅝″.

250 numbered copies on 140 gr. cream-colored laid paper from Ernst Söderberg & Company AB, Stockholm. Printed in 10-point Bodoni on 14-point body by AB Katalog & Tidskriftstryck, Stockholm. Line drawings in text by Bertil Bull Hedlund with signed etching by Hedlund as frontispiece (unnumbered). Cuts executed by Dagens Nyheters Klichéanstalt. Typography by Hedlund and Willy Stillert. "Ett Strindbergsord," p. [277], by Thure Nyman (unsigned).

7. Skogekär Bergbo (pseud.). *Venerid.* Stockholm, Sällskapet Bokvännerna, 1951. [236 pp.] (Bokvännens Bibliotek, 7.) 5¾″ x 8½″.

600 numbered copies, of which 200 were reserved for the Society's members, on *gravyrpapper* from Finbruken. Printed in 8- and 10-point Garamond on 8- and 12-point bodies, respectively, by Rundqvists Boktryckeri, Gothenburg. Halftone reproductions of paintings, copper and wood engravings. Introduction and notes by Bertil Sundborg.

8. Mérimée, Prosper. *Carmen.* Stockholm, Sällskapet Bokvännerna, [1950]. [128] pp. (Bokvännens Bibliotek, 8.) 5″ x 7½″.

700 copies, of which 300 were numbered for members of the Society, on 120 gr. *gravyrpapper* from Finbruken. Printed in 10-point Baskerville on 12-point body by AB Gustaf Lindströms Boktryckeri, Stockholm. Typography by Stig J. Hedén. Illustrations selected from drawings of Francisco Goya (1745-1828). Photoengravings by AB Grohmann & Eichelberg. Decorated paper wrappers by Per Engström. Original published in French in 1847. Translation by Anders Fröhling and Carl Olof Nyman.

9. Barkell, William. *Från papyrusrulle till partiband. Försök till en historisk framställning av bokbandsteknikens utveckling.* Stockholm, Sällskapet Bokvännerna, [1950]. (Bokvännens Bibliotek, 9.) [56] pp. 5½″ x 8⅜″.

600 copies on 125 gr. *gravyrpapper* from Finbruken. Printed in 11-point Linotype Baskerville on 14-point body and bound by Victor Pettersons Bokindustri AB, Stockholm. Design on cover by author; drawings in text by Dagens Nyheters Klichéanstalt in part after author's sketches. Halftone illustrations of historic bindings. Facsimile.

10. Eklund, R. R. *Rymd och människa: dikter, aforismer, småprosa.* Stockholm, Sällskapet Bokvännerna. [1950]. [160] pp. (Bokvännens Bibliotek, 10.) 5¾″ x 7½″.

700 copies, of which 300 were numbered for members of the Society, on 110 gr. *vol. tryckpapper* from Grubbens & Company AB of AB Billingsfors-Långed. Twenty-five copies on 140 gr. *festskriftpapper* from Grycksbo Pappersbruk numbered I-XXV for distribution by officers of the Society. Printed in 10-point Garamond Roman on 14-point body by AB Gustaf Lindströms Boktryckeri, Stockholm. Typography by Willy Stillert. Selection by J. O. Tallqvist and Per Erik Wahlund with introduction by the latter. Line drawings by Torsten Gustafsson.

11. Pinner, H. L. *Bokens värld under antiken.* Stockholm, Sällskapet Bokvännerna, [1950]. [88] pp. (Bokvännens Bibliotek, 11.) 5″ x 8″.

700 copies, of which 300 were numbered for the Society's members, on 125 gr. *gravyrpapper* from Lessebo AB and 250 gr. paper wrappers from the Riksbank's paper mill. Printed in 10-point Garamond Roman on 14-point body by Tryckeri AB Thule, Stockholm. Typography by Nils Nordqvist. Vignette on cover by Arne Meltzer. Photoengravings by Dagens Nyheters Klichéanstalt. Translation of *The World of Books in Classical Antiquity* by Anders Fröhling and Carl Olof Nyman.

BOKVÄNNENS BOKGÅVOR

12. Siwertz, Sigfrid. *Klas och Bob*. Stockhlom, Sällskapet Bokvännerna, 1947. [80] pp. [Bokgåvan 1946.] 5″ x 8¼″.

575 copies (532 numbered for the Society's members) on *lyxtryck* paper from Östanå Pappersbruk. Printed in 12-point Garamond Roman on 16-point body by Bröderna Lagerström, Stockholm. Typography by Willy Stillert. Reproductions of Bertil Lybeck's fourteen drawings (published with the original edition in the Christmas paper *Midvinter* in 1915) by Dagens Nyheters Klichéanstalt, Stockholm.

13. Larsson, Carl. *Från Stockholm till Messina; utriv ur några album*. Stockholm, Sällskapet Bokvännerna, 1948. xii + 76 pp. (Bokgåvan 1947.) 7″ x 10⅜″.

1,130 copies, including numbers I-XXX and 1-1,100 on 130 and 160 gr. *gravyrpapper* from Finbruken. Paper covers from Hurlbut Paper Company, South Lee, U. S. A. Printed by Albert Bonniers Boktryckeri, Stockholm in 12-point Garamond on 18-point body from D. Stempel AG, Frankfort-on-the-Main; initials on cover in Rosenborg capitals from Genzsch and Heyse, Hamburg. Typography by Bengt Segerstedt. Introduction by Georg Svensson. "Marginalia" (p. 1721). Original published in *Svea* calendar for 1887. Frontispiece, a self-portrait of Carl Larsson, from engravings in Nationalmuseum. Larsson's drawings reproduced from originals by Albert Bonniers Klichéanstalt.

14. [Nyman, Thure, Runnquist, Åke, and Sjögren, Per A., eds.] *Bokvännens Julbok 1948: bokgåvan*. Stockholm, Sällskapet Bokvännerna, [1948]. [184] pp. 5⅞″ x 8½″.

1,950 copies on 115 gr. satin paper, and twenty additional copies in boards. Printed in 10-point Garamond on 14-point body by Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri, Uppsala. Typography by Karl-Erik Forsberg (who also designed the Society's mark). Photographs and line-drawings from miscellaneous sources.

15. Balzac, Honoré de. *Det okända mästerverket*. Stockholm, Sällskapet Bokvännerna, 1949. [88] pp. (Bokvännens Julbok 1949.) 5¼″ x 7½″.

2,700 copies on cream-colored laid paper from Finbruken. Printed in 12-point Monotype Baskerville on 14-point body by Victor Pettersons Bokindustri AB, Stockholm. Translation of *Le chef d'oeuvre inconnu* by C. G. Bjurström with line drawings by Ragnar Lindén. Typography by Axel Frändberg after a plan by Thure Nyman. "Marginalia" by Thure Nyman, pp. 81-84. Photoengravings by Dagens Nyheters Klichéanstalt, Stockholm.

16. Creutz, Gustaf Philip. *Dikter*. [Stockholm, Sällskapet Bokvännerna, 1950.] [120] pp. (Bokvännens Julbok 1950.) 4⅞″ x 7¼″.

3,500 copies on 100 gr. pale cream *lyxtryck* paper from Finbruken. Printed in

10-point Monotype Baskerville by Victor Pettersons Bokindustri AB, Stockholm. Typography by Axel Frändberg based to some extent on eighteenth-century editions of Creutz' works. Edited by Thure Nyman. Author's portrait on cover is based on photograph in the Svenska Porträttarkivet, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, of Johan Snack's drawing.

BOKVÄNNENS SMÅSKRIFTER

17. Lindström, Hans. *Att samla Strindberg.* Stockholm, Sällskapet Bokvännerna, [1949]. [60] pp. (Bokvännens Småskrifter, 1.) 4½″ x 7⅝″.

550 copies on 103 gr. *fjäderlätt* paper from Grycksbo. Printed in 10-point Garamond Roman on 12-point body by AB Gustaf Lindströms Boktryckeri, Stockholm. Typography by Willy Stillert. (Subsequent numbers of this series in identical format, paper, design, and type, and printed by Lindström.)

18. Elberling, Carl. *Om att tvätta gamla böcker.* Stockholm, Sällskapet Bokvännerna, 1949. 32 pp. (Bokvännens Småskrifter, 2.) 4½″ x 7⅝″.

600 copies. Line drawings by Ragnar Lindén. Translation from the Danish by Willy Stillert. "Marginalia" (pp. 29-30) by Thure Nyman (unsigned).

19. Lönn, Klas. *Att samla Stockholmiana.* Stockholm. Sällskapet Bokvännerna, [1950]. [64] pp. (Bokvännens Småskrifter, 3.) 4½″ x 7⅝″.

600 copies.

20. Enman, Teo. *Att samla exlibris.* Stockholm, Sällskapet Bokvännerna, [1950]. [56] pp. (Bokvännens Småskrifter, 4.) 4½″ x 7⅝″.

600 copies. Illustrated with facsimiles of bookplates.

BOKVÄNNENS MINIATYRSERIE

21. Hammarsköld, Lorenzo. *Första grunderna af bibliognosien.* Stockholm, Sällskapet Bokvännerna, [1951]. [32] pp. (Bokvännens Miniatyrserie, 1.) 3⅞″ x 5⅞″.

400 copies on cream-colored laid paper. Printed in 10-point Monotype Baskerville on 14-point body by Victor Pettersons Bokindustri AB, Stockholm. Contemporary lithograph of author's bust, p. [4], and of author's head on cover. First printed as a supplement to Hammarsköld's *Litteraturens och de sköna konsternas historia i sammandrag för gymnasierna,* edited by P. A. Sondén and published posthumously in 1828.

SEPARATES

22. Skogekär Bergbo (pseud.). *Venerid.* Stockholm, Sällskapet Bokvännerna, [1949]. 74 unnumbered leaves. 8″ x 11″.

300 numbered copies on 18 gr. rag paper made especially for this book by the Riksbanken's paper mill in Tumba, of which copies 1-15 contain an extra lithoprint of a scene from Gustaf Rosenhane's home at Haneberg in Södermanland[1] and copies 16-65 contain illustrations signed by the artist; twenty copies for the press and those who produced the book. Printed in 18-point Bembo Roman by Esselte AB,

[1] Bertil Sundborg is completely convinced of the identity of Rosenhane and Skogekär Bergbo in the annotated edition.

Stockholm. Typography according to a plan by Thure Nyman. Lithoprints by Björn Jonson; all lithoprints in copies 1-65 signed by artist. Initials by Bertil Kumlien. Text edited by Bertil Sundborg. The annotated edition with an introduction by Bertil Sundborg is no. 7 in "Bokvännens Bibliotek."

23. [Lindström, Åke, and Stillert, Willy, eds.] *Intåg i femtitalet. En bok till Ivar Harrie* $19\frac{18}{3}49$. Stockholm, Sällskapet Bokvännerna, [1949]. [180] pp. 5½" x 8⅜".

635 copies on 140 gr. *lyxtryck* paper from Finbruken, of which thirty-five were reserved for editors and contributors with a signed woodcut by Hugo Gehlin (unsigned in other copies). Cover on 210 gr. drawing paper from the Riksbanken's paper mill. Printed in 10-point Garamond Roman on 11-point body by AB Gustaf Lindströms Boktryckeri, Stockholm. Typography by editors. Drawings and vignettes by Edward Lindahl. Photoengravings by Dagens Nyheters Klichéanstalt.

24. *Hundra kungliga böcker utställda den 12 mars 1951*. Stockholm, Sällskapet Bokvännerna, [1951]. [40] pp. 4¼" x 7½".

500 numbered copies on 125 gr. *gravyrpapper* from AB Papyrus. Printed in 8-point Le Cochin on 10-point body by Esselte AB, Stockholm. Typography by Willy Stillert. Twelve facsimiles from books and manuscripts in the personal library of the King of Sweden.

Lawrence S. Thompson

University of Kentucky

An Early Annotated Edition of "The Eve of St. Agnes"

The separate edition of John Keats's *The Eve of St. Agnes* annotated by J. W. Hales, listed as item "D 40" and tentatively dated 1910 in J. R. MacGillivray's Keats bibliography,[1] was apparently first published in America in 1892. This American edition reproduces the texts of a biographical and critical sketch of Keats, an introductory note on the poem, and, with exceptions noted below, annotations which had been published in England in 1872. The essential text of the American edition, then, appeared, though not as a separate publication, thirty-eight years before the date assigned in the MacGillivray bibliography and fifteen years before the beginning, rather than toward the end, of the period, 1887-1921, which Professor MacGillivray considers to have been that of Keats's highest reputation as a poet.[2] Therefore, and because it represents what is prob-

[1] J. R. MacGillivray. *Keats, a Bibliography and Reference Guide With an Essay on Keats' Reputation* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1949), p. 46. (*Univ. of Toronto, Department of English, Studies and Texts*, No. 3).

[2] "On the Development of Keats' Reputation," *op. cit.*, p. lxix. The separate edition of *The Eve of St. Agnes* is singled out for mention as "an unusually unpleasant-looking school text" among the "less impressive tributes" to the vogue of Keats during this period. (p. lxxi.)

ably the first extensively annotated edition of the poem and possibly also the first edition of any of the poetry of Keats intended specifically for use as a school text, the separate American edition perhaps gains something in potential interest. The annotations have some interest of their own as illustrating what was in 1872, when the study of English language and literature was struggling for a place in the curricula of English colleges and secondary schools, a pioneer attempt at formulating a method for the formal study of literature in the vernacular.

In the MacGillivray bibliography the date of the American edition appears in brackets without a question mark, which indicates "an intermediate state of information about the time of publication, as when the date of copyright only is known or of deposit in the British Museum or the Library of Congress" (p. vi). The title-page of the copy which I have examined reads as follows:

ENGLISH CLASSIC SERIES.—No. 40 | (rule) | The Eve of St. Agnes. | BY | JOHN KEATS. | WITH PHILOLOGICAL AND EXPLANATORY NOTES | BY | J. W. HALES, M.A. | LATE FELLOW AND ASSISTANT TUTOR OF CHRIST'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE; | BARRISTER-AT-LAW OF LINCOLN'S INN; | LECTURER IN ENGLISH LITERATURE AND CLASSICAL COMPOSITION AT KING'S | COLLEGE SCHOOL, LONDON; CO-EDITOR OF BISHOP PERCY'S | MS. FOLIO; ETC. | (device—includes monogram C & M) | NEW YORK: | Maynard, Merrill, & Co., Publishers, | 43, 45, and 47 East Tenth Street.| (rule) | New Series, No. 40. May 19, 1892. Published Semi-weekly. Subscription Price $10. | Entered at Post Office, New York, as Second-class Matter.

The book is a stapled pamphlet, 11.2 x 16.5 cm., in white paper wrapper printed in a close all-over green design with green lettering except for the title of the poem, which is white on solid green. The front cover has the holograph inscription "Helen G. Fountain | February 12, 1895 | 34 East 64 Street, N.Y.C." The sheet facing the title-page lists Nos. 120 through 130 as "RECENT ADDITIONS TO THE ENGLISH CLASSIC SERIES." The advertisement on the back covers lists the series through No. 132, and space available for additional listings is left blank. Assuming that No. 40 was actually published May 19, 1892, that semi-weekly numbers were published as scheduled, and that in such a venture projected numbers were prepared and advertised months in advance of actual publication, it is possible that the copy examined was issued in 1892, but it is evidently not the original issue, for the Houghton Library of the Library of Harvard University has a copy, dated 1892 on the wrap-

per only, in which the series list on the back cover ends with No. 90, the title-page of which reads as follows:[3]

No. 40. | ENGLISH CLASSICS. | (rule) | THE EVE OF ST. AGNES. | WITH PHILOLOGICAL . . . ETC. (agrees with description of issue above) | (device - includes monogram C & M) | NEW YORK: | EFFINGHAM MAYNARD & CO., | SUCCESSORS TO | CLARK & MAYNARD, Publishers, | 771 BROADWAY AND 67 & 69 NINTH ST.

This copy measures 11.2 x 16.5 cm. and is in white paper wrapper printed in a close all over blue design with lettering in rust. The Houghton Library also has a copy dated 1900 in which the series list has reached No. 219, with the following publisher's imprint:

NEW YORK: | MAYNARD, MERRILL, & CO., | 29, 31, and 33 EAST NINETEENTH STREET. | (rule) | New Series, No. 99. January 1, 1900. Published Monthly. Subscription Price, $1.00. | Entered . . . .

The change in the series number from 40 to 99 by 1900 suggests that the item described in the MacGillivray bibliography was not a 1910 reissue.

The separate American edition of *The Eve of St. Agnes* was prepared, evidently without the supervision of the English editor, from one of the fifteen impressions which appeared between 1872 and 1892 of an annotated collection of English poems, the title-page of the 1875 reprint of which reads as follows:

LONGER ENGLISH POEMS, | WITH NOTES, | PHILOLOGICAL AND EXPLANATORY, | AND AN | INTRODUCTION ON THE TEACHING OF ENGLISH. | Chiefly for Use in Schools. | EDITED BY | J. W. HALES, M.A. | Late Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Christ's College, Cambridge; | Barrister-at-law of Lincoln's Inn; | Lecturer in English Literature and Classical Composition at King's College School, London; | Co-editor of Bishop Percy's MS. Folio; &c. | FOURTH EDITION. | London: MACMILLAN AND CO. | 1875. | [The Right of Translation and Reproduction is reserved.]

An 1897 reprint (Houghton Library copy) contains the following publication notice:

PART I. *Published* 1870. | Complete, *First Published*, 1872. | Reprinted 1873, 1874, 1875, 1876, 1877, 1878, 1880, 1882, 1884, 1885, | 1887, 1889, 1890, 1892, 1894, 1897.

[3] The information concerning this copy, copy dated 1900, and the 1897 reprint of *Longer English Poems* was very kindly provided by Miss Mabel A. E. Steele, Curator of the Keats Collection, The Houghton Library, Harvard University Library.

The Preface to the 1872 "complete" edition, reprinted in the 1875 reprint, reveals that the Introduction was "printed in the Christmas of 1869" and that "half" of the book was "printed and in private use some two years ago," apparently early in 1870, for the dedicatory epistle to the "complete" edition is dated "April 20th, 1872." That the earlier printed half did not include *The Eve of St. Agnes,* which is the second-last poem in the complete collection, is indicated when the editor mentions in the epistle that he notes this earlier partial publication only "for the sake of explaining any differences in treatment that may separate the earlier from the later pages."

John W. Hales (1836-1914), who does not appear in the DNB or other standard works of biographical reference, became, according to the title-page of his *Notes and Essays on Shakespeare* (London, G. Bell and Sons, 1884), Professor of English Literature in King's College, London, and must have been among the first in England to receive such a title. The *Catalog of Books Represented by Library of Congress Printed Cards* lists also his *Folia Litteraria; Essays and Notes on English Literature* (New York, Macmillan and Co., 1893).

The Introduction to *Longer English Poems,* "Suggestions on the Teaching of English," provides the rationale of the annotations in the separate American edition of the Keats poem, which alone do not fairly represent the method of literary study propounded and illustrated by Hales, and which are certainly sufficiently philological to strike awe into almost any modern secondary school student, particularly when practised upon so soft a subject as Keats. In the separate edition, in addition to 18 questions for students, most of which call for explanations of figurative uses of words or clarification of grammar or syntax, there are 110 annotations, of which 48 are etymological, 24 glossarial, 11 informative, 10 explicative, 8 illustrative of figurative uses of words, and 9 miscellaneous. Actually the consideration of etymologies is but one of ten steps recommended in the study of a poem (*Longer English Poems,* 1875, pp. xv-xxxvii), and the reflection in the Introduction of the struggle against the representatives of the "pernicious monopoly" of classical studies (pp. x-xiv) suggests that at least some of the philological rigor of the method resulted from the desire to justify the "study" of the vernacular literature. The primary aim of the Introduction, indeed, is "showing those who may still regard English as a subject somewhat barren of such material as the teacher requires, how abundant and rich it is in fact" (p. x).

The American edition was prepared, in the main, simply by the condensation — in two cases the omission — of the annotations of *The Eve of*

St. Agnes in *Longer English Poems* (1875, pp. 406-412). Some of the material omitted was probably sacrificed to considerations of format—not space, for there are three available blank pages at the end of the pamphlet—since some parts of the poem are more heavily annotated than others, and the inclusion of Hales's annotations, which are grouped in an appendix in the English volume, in their entirety would have presented the make-up man with a problem in balancing text and footnotes. Most of the omitted material consists of portions of discussions of etymologies, references to books not likely to be readily available to American students, and cross-references to notes on the uses of the same or cognate words or of similar figures, idioms, or constructions in other poems included in the English collection. Some of the annotations on the Keats poem, however, consisted merely of such cross-references. One of these (on *attire*, l. 230) was omitted entirely, but in most such cases the preparer of the separate edition was able to summarize or excerpt from the annotations on other poems with satisfactory results. In two such cases the result suggests that Hales himself could hardly have overseen the preparation of the American edition. His annotation on *amain* (l. 288) was a reference to the note on the use of the word in line 111 of *Lycidas*, which note in turn merely refers to other Miltonic and Shakespearean uses of the word (all of which, when traced down, turn out to be in the sense *swiftly*). In *The Eve of St. Agnes* the only possible gloss would seem to be *greatly, exceedingly*, but the American edition has *suddenly*, the rarest sense and the least possible in the context. On *darkling* (l. 355) Hales's annotation is a reference to the note on *The Deserted Village*, line 29, which turns out to be an annotation on *side-long*, the relevant portion of which reads: "Probably the *long* is a corruption of the adverbial termination *ling*, which yet survives in *groveling* and *darkling*." The American edition gives the following: "The p. part. of a supposed verb *darkle*, diminutive from *dark*, meaning in the dark or without light. 'As the wakeful bird sings *darkling*.'—Milton." That Hales could have written this as a gloss on Keats's adjectival use, which had a long history before the invention of the verb *darkle*, seems unlikely. The expurgation from an etymological note on *bodice* (l. 229) of several historical illustrations (which incidentally suggested the timelessness of woman's innocent deceptions), also seems more likely to have been the work of an American with mixed classes and female instructors in mind than of Hales.

Joseph S. Stull

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A Further Note on "Novello Cattanio"

A passage in Curt F. Bühler's essay "Novello Cattanio: Un viaggio fatto alli paesi del continente nuovo," published in the recent *Essays Honoring Lawrence C. Wroth* (Portland, 1951), started bells ringing in my mind, but I saw no "TILT" sign.* A few days earlier, I had been reading *New Voyages to America* by Baron de Lahontan, and I thought I recognized considerable similarity between a feast described by the Baron and one by Cattanio which was summarized by Mr. Bühler as follows: "Four dishes, it is said, were prepared and placed before Cattanio: the first contained some white fishes simply boiled in water, the second a cutlet and a tongue (similarly boiled) of a roebuck, the third roast meat — composed of two 'royal hens,' the foot of a bear and the tail of a beaver, and the fourth dish an abundant meat broth, the whole washed down with a maple-syrup cup."

Lahontan described his savage feast as follows: "On commença par mettre devant moi quatre plats, le premier consistoit en deux Poissons blanc boüillis simplement à l'eau; le second étoit garni de côtelettes, & d'une langue de Chevreüil, le tout boüilli; le troisiéme de deux Gelinotes de bois, d'un pied d'Ours de derriére, & d'une queuë de Castor, le tout rôti; le quatriéme contenoit un copieux boüillon de plusiers sortes de viandes. Ils me firent boire d'une liqueur délicieuse, qui n'est pourtant qu'un syrop d'érable battu avec de l'eau, je vous en parlerai quelque jour." (La Haye, 1703, I, 138.)

The English version, in the London, 1703, edition, pages 105-106, reads as follows: "First of all four Platters were set down before me, in the first of which, there were two white Fish only boil'd in Water; in the second the Tongue and Breast of a Roe-buck boil'd; in the third two Woodhens, the hind Feet or Trotters of a Bear, and the Tail of a Beaver, all roasted; and the fourth contain'd a large quantity of Broth made of several sorts of Meat. For Drink they gave me a very pleasant Liquor, which was nothing but a Syrrup of Maple beat up with Water; but of this more elsewhere."

Mr. Bühler seems to think that matching the two descriptions is important — and perhaps it is. Yet Lahontan's reputation for veracity is not bright and shining; he was probably a plagiarist as well. Mr. Bühler's cunningly argued thesis had already achieved what he intended — the ex-

* This trope is taken from the vocabulary of players of pinball machines, whose activities are outlawed in New York. It may be translated as "The passage annoyed me by a curious familiarity." *Editor.*

posure of a fraud. The location of a possible source is interesting, but not essential, since the newly located source may not be the original source.

COLTON STORM

Clements Library, University of Michigan

William Parks' Errata

John Mercer's *An Exact Abridgment of All the Public Acts of Assembly, of Virginia,* printed in Williamsburg by William Parks in 1737 (Evans 4204, Torrence 142, Wroth 94), has a variant final signature (Ggg^2), one with an errata list running to 12 lines on $Ggg2^v$, the other extending through the full page. Other signatures (e. g., Oo) must also be variant, because corrections listed in the Errata have been press-corrected in the two ViU copies.

JOHN COOK WYLLIE

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A Note on John Gray (1724-1811)

John Gray, an almost unknown pamphleteer, is the author of several political pamphlets which have hitherto been ascribed to other authors or listed only by title in several bibliographies of eighteenth-century literature.[1]

Evidence for Gray's authorship of these works is found in his *Essay on Dr. Price.*[2] In this pamphlet Gray's name appears on a title-page for the first time, and Becket, the publisher, and Gray list the other pamphlets which Gray had previously written and published anonymously:

A. *A Comparative View of the Public Burdens of Great Britain and Ireland, with a Proposal for putting both Islands on an Equality in regard to the Freedom of Foreign Trade* (London, T. Becket, 1773).

B. *An Essay Concerning the Establishment of a National Bank in Ireland* (London, T. Becket, 1774).[3]

[1] The *British Museum Catalogue,* Sabin, and the *Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature* are among the bibliographies which have not identified the author of these pamphlets.

[2] *Doctor Price's Notions of the Nature of Civil Liberty, Shewn to be Contradictory to Reason and Scripture* (London, T. Becket, 1777), pp. 122, [124]. Copies of the pamphlet are in the Boston Athenæum, the British Museum, and the New York Public Library.

[3] This tract has been tentatively identified by the New York Public Library as belonging to John Gray. The *British Museum Catalogue,* however, has listed it (Vol. 28, Ireland, col. 51) without naming an author.

C. *Remarks on the New Essay of the Pennsylvanian Farmer; and on the Resolves and Instructions Prefixed to that Essay.* By the Author of *The Right of the British Legislature vindicated* . . . (London, T. Becket, 1775).[4]

D. *The Right of the British Legislature to Tax the American Colonies Vindicated; and the Means of Asserting that Right proposed* (London, T. Becket, 1774).[5]

Of Gray himself next to nothing is known. He is not mentioned in the *DNB* or in any other dictionary of authors, nor is any biography of Gray listed in Phillis M. Riches' *Bibliography of Collected Biography* (London, The Library Association, 1934). Two obituary notices in contemporary periodicals merely state that he died in May 1811 in his 88th year, and that he had been one of the commissioners of the lottery.[6] The author cards of the New York Public Library list Gray as an honorary LL.D. of St. Andrews and a private secretary to the Duke of Northumberland, but I have been unable to find any evidence of this in any of the sources which I have checked.

Gray also wrote other and later pamphlets dealing chiefly with Irish affairs and with problems of the slave trade, but these present no bibliographical problems since Gray's name appears on the title-pages.

LESTER HIRSCH

New York University (School of Commerce)

[4] Both Sabin and the *B. M. Catalogue* (Vol. 45, col. 283) list this pamphlet without naming an author.

[5] This pamphlet has been ascribed by William Cushing in his *Anonyms; A Dictionary of Revealed Authorship* (Cambridge, Mass., 1889) p. 581, to Samuel Johnson. The New York Public Library had accepted this ascription until I called it to their attention. Both Sabin and the *B. M. Catalogue* (Vol. 16, col. 651) have listed this work without naming an author. It is not named in the *Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature.*

[6] The *Gentleman's Magazine* and the *European Magazine* for June 1811 give substantially the same obituary of Gray.

"May 9, 1811

At Paddington-green, in his 88th year, John Gray, esq. LL.D. for many years one of the Commissioners of the Lottery; a very worthy, benevolent, and scientific man; and a frequent correspondent for many years in Mr. Urban's Miscellany."

Book Reviews

TREMAINE, MARIE. *A Bibliography of Canadian Imprints 1751-1800.* Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1952. xxv, 681 pp. Plates. 9 x 6 inches. $10.00.

Two or three years have passed since we received the tantalizing announcement that Marie Tremaine was projecting a bibliography of Canadian printing. Now the book is here, and it more than justifies the anticipation generated during those many months. Origins are exciting. The author with great good sense has confined her work to a detailed study of the first half century, 1751-1800, of printing in Canada. During that period sixteen printing offices spread from the Maritime Provinces westward to Toronto and the Niagara frontier.

The heart of this work lies in twelve hundred and four entries or "imprints" describing the books, pamphlets, leaflets and broadsides that were produced by these Canadian presses. Entries are arranged alphabetically by author or title within each year. They are prefaced by a concise and detailed "Method of Bibliographical Description." In the case of books and pamphlets, collations are given by format, signatures, pagination and size of type page. The contents are indicated in reasonable fashion. That is to say, the matter is clearly stated with a minimum of detail. All this is supplemented by notes regarding the actual printing of the piece, its author and subject matter. Only those references are cited which make a positive contribution to the entries. Leaflets and broadsides require special treatment, and it is interesting to note that Miss Tremaine's method did not follow but rather coincided with the principles laid down by the American Imprints Inventory. Suffice it to say that these entries are more than adequate for the identification of any broadside that might come to hand.

As regards newspapers and magazines, the author writes, "A half century (particularly the first) in colonial printing is too short a period for more than the beginning of a newspaper bibliography. As all extant numbers of the papers were scanned for the broader purpose of this study however, it seemed worthwhile to make an informal record of the issues, noting the nature of the papers and details of their production—in the hope that even this limited record of holdings would be useful to students, and the

material as a whole the basis of a more extensive work by another hand." Here is a challenging statement but a modest one. In this section, twenty-five publications are described at some length and issues are located. These sixty-four pages go far towards filling a wide gap in the history of North American journalism.

The technical bibliography is supplemented by short biographical sketches of the Canadian printers. The Introduction draws a broad picture of the factors, cultural and otherwise, that shaped the products of those men.

Miss Tremaine's list of authorities bears ample witness to the care and depth of her work. She must have been indefatigable in her search through the Public Archives, manuscript resources and contemporary newspapers of eastern Canada. How else could she describe in detail more than two hundred entries of which no copies are known to survive?

This is a first rate working tool and it fills a long felt need. It is better than that for the reason that Miss Tremaine went far beyond the simple recording of titles and their bibliographical detail. Textual synthesis is a courageous undertaking even for that band of gay and irrepressible hucksters, the booksellers. But isn't it worth the candle? It imparts an enthusiasm and warmth that stimulates further investigation and critical comment. And it leaves the reader with the conviction that the books described have been examined with an eye to minute detail.

ALEXANDER DAVIDSON, JR.

Michaelis Marulli Carmina (edited by Alessandro Perosa). Turici, In ædibus Thesauri Mundi, [1951]. [Sole agent for the USA: The Mediaeval Academy of America, Cambridge, Mass.]. xliv, 261 pp. 8½ x 5½ inches. $3.00.

The most recent issue of the publishing venture known as Thesaurus Mundi of Zürich is an edition of the Latin poems of Michael Marullus, one of the greatest humanist poets (died in 1500); this volume is certain to meet with enthusiastic and well-merited applause from the world of Renaissance studies. In every way, the work under review compares favorably with its two distinguished predecessors: the monumental edition of Coluccio Salutati's *De laboribus Herculis*, prepared by Professor B. L. Ullman of the University of North Carolina, and the interesting tenth-century *Breviloquium* of Frithegodus (together with Wulfstan's *Narratio metrica de Sancto Swithuno*) edited by Professor Alistair Campbell of Oxford.

The editing of the poems of Marullus has been left to the competent hands of Professor Alessandro Perosa of the Scuola Normale Superiore in Pisa. It will be a matter of special interest to those of us concerned with early printed books to learn that, for his text, Perosa has rightly chosen to lean heavily upon the Florentine edition of 26 November 1497 (*Census* M 299), which is equally significant as the first book put out by that interesting press known as the Societas Colubris (Compagnia del Drago). One other incunable, the undated edition of part of the Epigrams published by Eucharius Silber at Rome (*Census* M 298), was consulted for its readings, and seven sixteenth-century printings, together with eleven manuscripts, were similarly utilized. That the poems of Marullus are highly regarded in the New World is made evident by the fact that no fewer than eighteen copies of the two earliest editions are found over here. The new printing, in addition to correcting and supplementing these texts, offers the scholarly apparatus lacking in the earlier publications, such as the Indices of Initia and of Names (the latter especially valuable as a bio-bibliographical tool in its own right). Thus Perosa's edition of Marullus will bring the poems of this interesting humanist within the reach of many institutions and scholars who might be unable to afford the luxury of "antiquarian" books. Furthermore, the price of this volume is considerably less than the standard charge for a negative microfilm of the Florentine edition!

The edition of the poems of Marullus by Professor Perosa is indeed admirable. Only a few small points came to this reviewer's notice in the course of his persistent search for details which might have been more fully treated. Thus, for example, Perosa (p. xvii, n. 29), in accord with the errata-list of the Florentine edition, suggests that the original text (at line 41 of the first Hymn of Book 4 = p. 149) reads "femina" and that this should be (and is by him) emended to read "semina." The Morgan copy of this edition, however, here (sig. $l3^{v}$, line 13) has "semina"—beyond any possibility of doubt. In the same place, Perosa states that, at Hymns IV. 5. 36, the original reads "ponte," though the Morgan copy (sig. $m5^{r}$, line 14) unquestionably has the correct "sponte." One naturally wonders whether or not these are instances of stop-press emendation? Twice the editor failed to make clear what the alterations suggested by the list of errata are. In the Epigrams (IV. 28. 4) Perosa prints "discidi" (p. 97) in common with the original text, though the errata offers "dissidi." [Query: is this a slip in the errata?] In the Hymns (I. 3. 10) Perosa's edition (p. 111), in agreement with the incunable, has "Lybiamque" though

the errata emphatically recommends "Libyamque," the form apparently preferred by Marullus since it is consistently used elsewhere in the early volume (not, however, by Perosa). The earlier readings are again recorded on p. xiii, n. 18, and p. xvii, n. 29, respectively. But if the alternatives provided through the errata are cited anywhere in Perosa's edition, I have failed to find them. Admittedly, these are *very* minor points for the literary historian, but for the bibliographer they provide the possibilities for interesting speculations.

The Mediaeval Academy of America is to be congratulated for its readiness to act as the American agent for Thesaurus Mundi. This series promises to be one of the most significant scholarly ventures of our time for students either of the Middle Ages or of the Renaissance. This notable undertaking is broadly and internationally planned, and American participation in it promises to be of major importance. In addition to Professor Ullman's outstanding contribution already referred to, the prospectus lists editions in preparation by such American scholars as Professor Paul Oskar Kristeller and Dr. Maristella di Panizza Bové. It seems obvious that any reference library mindful of its name would automatically subscribe to the entire series of these estimable (and reasonable) editions, for they represent texts either not previously available in print or if so available (as in the case of the Marullus), only at a price which might prove prohibitive for many a scholarly institution.

CURT F. BÜHLER

The Pierpont Morgan Library

Scenery of Great Britain and Ireland in Aquatint and Lithography, 1770-1860. From the Library of J. R. Abbey. A Bibliographical Catalogue. London, Privately Printed. At the Curwen Press, 1952. Frontispiece in Colour Collotype. 34 Monochrome Collotype plates, plus 54 line illustrations in the text. xx, 399 pp. 12¾ x 9¼ inches. 15 guineas. Edition limited to 500 numbered copies.

This handsome catalogue is a descriptive bibliography of a distinguished collection of 556 topographical works assembled during the last quarter century and more by J. R. Abbey, Esq., of Greyfriars, Storrington, Sussex. All are illustrated, usually with aquatints or lithographs, some with chromolithographs, some with zincographs, and some are hand colored or tinted. The subject matter of the collection is not strictly confined to landscape, but also includes architecture, and some urban and social scenes. The works are classified according to subject in the simplest possible manner:

Great Britain (General), a section which includes castles, abbeys, churches, antiquities, and feudal and monastic ruins; England (General); England (by localities); Gardens; Residences, including noblemen's seats, baronical halls, and royal residences; Rivers; Schools; and Universities, followed by pictures of Ireland, Scotland, Wales, The Channel Islands, and the Isle of Man in the same arrangement. Sporting books in general have been omitted because of the existence of Schwerdt's *Hunting, Hawking, Shooting* (1928), though Orme's *British Field Sports* (1807), properly finds a place.

No more characteristically English product than these books and prints of scenery can be imagined. Many firms issued them in quantity, and some embellished their plates to order with supplementary hand coloring. But even though these prints are mass-produced reproductions, they are frequently of great beauty and quaintness, and some are rare. Many are the work of the finest artists of a day when water-color painting was at its best. Hence, they are attractive for framing, a fact which accounts for the destruction of many copies through the years as well as for the usual poor, faded state in which single prints or broken portfolios are often found. Many of the complete portfolios and volumes here described are, therefore, great rarities, known only to a few special collectors, and almost never found in a mint state. Several items, notably No. 258, Whittaker and Nayler's *The Coronation of George the Fourth* (1821-1841), are unique. This sumptuous production, an elephant folio bound in crimson turkey morocco, is painted, enamelled, gilt, bejewelled, and printed on vellum and white satin as well as upon paper, and was intended for the king himself, but was unfinished at the time of his death. Most of the portfolios in the Abbey Collection are in their original state in parts as issued, or in the publishers' bindings.

Such a descriptive catalogue, with full listings of the subjects of the plates, will be of course of primary interest to the print and book collector. But it will also have considerable significance as illustrative material for others as well. Historians will value it as a guide to ceremonial prints, like No. 255, J. H. Clark and M. Dubourg's *An Historical Memento . . . in Celebration of the Glorious Peace* (1814), showing the fleet on the Serpentine in commemoration of the Battle of the Nile; No. 30, J. Hassell's *The Grand Junction Canal* (1819), "with an Historical and Topographical Description of those parts . . . through which the Canal Passes;" or No. 12, J. A. Atkinson's *A Picturesque Representation of the Naval, Military, and Miscellaneous Costumes of Great Britain* (1807). So will the social historian.

Through it the theatrical historian will find views of old provincial playhouses in No. 29, J. Winston's *The Theatric Tourist* (1805), and of London in No. 227, D. Havell's *Historical and Descriptive Accounts of the Theatres of London*, by Edward Wedlake Brayley (1826). The literary student will find interest in No. 40, Thomas Rowlandson's *The Comforts of Bath* (1798), designed to illustrate Anstey's *New Bath Guide*, but never issued with the text; in No. 456, *The Poetical Works of Oliver Goldsmith* (1811), "with remarks, attempting to ascertain chiefly from local observation, the Actual Scene of the Deserted Village [Lissoy];" or especially in the numerous views of the Lake District, both before and after Wordsworth, beginning with No. 183, W. Gilpin's *Observations, relative chiefly to Picturesque Beauty, Made in the Year 1772, . . . particularly the Mountains, and Lakes of Cumberland and Westmoreland* (1786), a work which was reprinted several times. But above all, these aquatints and lithographs of picturesque scenic beauties, and so suitable in technique for a romantic emphasis, are invaluable to the student of artistic taste and its vicissitudes as a supplement and a reinforcement in another medium of the landscape poetry and prose of the day. A study of this characteristic illustrative medium tells one a great deal about the romantic mind as he views through early nineteenth-century eyes the Pont y Pair over the River Conway above Llanrwst (Plate XXXII) or Torc Waterfall, Killarney (Plate XXVII), or Fonthill Abbey in Wiltshire (Plate XXIII). And when it is possible to compare the reality with its idealization it is hard to believe that these places ever seemed so grand and impressive. But even when soberly realistic these prints recall a long forgotten time.

Hence, not the least attractive feature of this volume is its generous illustrations, which, as the compiler himself remarks, are a kind of microcosm of the English scene of the period. Supplementing the collotype plates there are numerous line block reproductions, and—of considerable typographical importance—some of the title-pages with their decorative type fonts and the intricate typographical ingenuities the compositors were able to contrive out of type ornament.

The book has four very useful indices—of Artists and Engravers, of Authors, of Printers, Publishers, and Booksellers, and of Titles. And there are some informative "Notes on the Engravers' Technique for English Colour-Book Plates," by Kenneth Hobson. The agents for the book are Messrs. Maggs Brothers, 50 Berkeley Square, London, W. I.

Karl J. Holzknecht

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ROSSETTI, DANTE GABRIEL. *Jan Van Hunks.* Edited from the Original Manuscripts by John Robert Wahl. New York, The New York Public Library, 1952. xi, 97 pp. Frontispiece, facsimiles. 8¾ x 5¼ inches. $7.50. Edition of 500 copies. (Arents Tobacco Collection Publication No. 3.)

This "ballad of a grotesque character, not unmixed with horror, about a smoking Dutchman and the devil," as it was described by William Michael Rossetti, was begun by his brother Dante Gabriel before he was twenty; finished and revised on his deathbed at Birchington some thirty years later. (The theme was sufficiently bizarre to appeal to a man whose favorite pet was a wombat, which spent most of its life dozing in a silver *épergne* on the dining-room table.)[1] The notebook in which he wrote the ballad is now in the Arents Tobacco Collection of the New York Public Library. It is here reproduced in facsimile, with a transcription, and collation with other extant manuscripts: a fair copy of the first part in the Duke University Library, and a fair copy of the whole poem now in the British Museum. The latter was originally given by Rossetti to Theodore Watts-Dunton, Swinburne's self-appointed guardian, who published the poem in the second issue of *The English Review* (January 1909), with more than fifty errors in transcription. Later that year he sold it to Thomas J. Wise, who reprinted it, errors and all, in a privately printed edition of thirty copies in 1912. In 1929 Mackenzie Bell, Christina Rossetti's biographer, again reprinted "Jan Van Hunks," with the cool announcement that it was a "hitherto unpublished poem."

The present edition also includes the story, "Henkerwyssel's Challenge" —probably by John Rutter Chorley—which originally appeared in *The Winter's Wreath 1830* (London, 1829); it was this tale which gave Rossetti the idea for the ballad when he read it, as a boy, in a book called *Tales of Chivalry.*

The ballad itself, written in the metre of "The Ballad of Reading Gaol," is a rather bumpy and uneven affair, with several striking lines. It is not on a par with Rossetti's "Sister Helen," or even "The Blessed Damozel" (the incessant repetition of which helped steer the youthful Whittaker Chambers into unsocial courses).[2] Van Hunks, a Scrooge-like character, is outsmoked and outwitted by the Devil, whose imps remove him, screaming, to Hell, where he is carved into a pipe for his master's use. The poem has, in this edition, been given an extremely handsome dress, with a rich

[1] Will Cuppy, *How to Attract the Wombat* (New York, Rinehart, 1949).

[2] Whittaker Chambers, *Witness* (New York, Random House, 1952), p. 107.

tobacco-brown binding stamped in gold with a design first used on the binding of Rossetti's *Ballads and Sonnets* of 1881. The book was printed on Lee paper at the Printing-Office of the Yale University Press, and the Meriden Gravure Company has done its usual fine work in executing the illustrations and facsimiles.

Mr. Wahl, the very competent editor of the ballad, hails from Cape Town, a point of especial interest since the Union of South Africa adopted Van Hunks bodily forty-odd years ago, and set him smoking with the Devil once again over Table Mountain.

EARLE F. WALBRIDGE

KYRISS, ERNST. *Verzierte gotische Einbände im alten deutschen Sprachgebiet.* Stuttgart, Max Hettler Verlag, 1951. 160 pp. 10¾ x 6¾ inches.

Anyone who has had the privilege of inspecting Dr. Kyriss' private archive of rubbings and lists of stamps will have little difficulty in appreciating the enormous amount of painstaking labor that has gone into this work. It is divided into four sections, *viz.*, bindings executed in monasteries, bindings executed by known individuals, bindings identified by armorial bearings and initials, and bindings executed by anonymous craftsmen (subdivided into two groups, shops whose locations are known, and shops whose locations are not known). In each group the various binderies are listed (186 in all); and under each bindery the books are listed by call number following the names of libraries that now own them. Dr. Kyriss is meticulously careful to refer to any source in which bindings or individual stamps happen to be illustrated.

There is a brief introduction, conclusions, and summary tables for each of the four major groups. The 116 references constitute a veritable Mudge for the field of Gothic bindings. An index of libraries containing the bindings concludes the volume. There are no illustrations, but Dr. Kyriss and Mr. Hettler are already busy with plans for the promised volume of illustrations (p. 160).

Dr. Kyriss' labor of over two decades was done largely in various South German libraries, although he also draws on illustrations in the historical literature of bookbinding. Unfortunately, he has never had full access to the collections of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek; and since work of this sort (as Strickland Gibson found long ago) can properly be done only by patient examination of the shelves, the policy of no admittance whatsoever to the bookstacks has deprived us of much valuable information.

Dr. Kyriss' book will have a relatively narrow audience, but it is an important contribution to the history of books as well as to general art history. It points the way to many similar studies which should be executed in a future that will have to provide the necessary leisure and publication subsidies to scholars.

LAWRENCE S. THOMPSON

University of Kentucky

RANGANATHAN, S. R. *Social Bibliography, or Physical Bibliography for Librarians.* Delhi, India, University of Delhi, 1952. 348 pp. Rs. 10/-; $4.50; 21*s*. (Delhi University Publications, Library Science Series 4.)

Dr. Ranganathan, Professor of Library Science at the University of Delhi, is well known in this country as the President of the Indian Library Association and as the Honorary Secretary for India of the Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia.

His new book considers the practical problems of book production and distribution in a country that is striving to emerge under a new, democratic government from the handicap of an 85 per cent illiteracy.

American bibliographers will be chiefly interested in knowing that pages 115-126 of Dr. Ranganathan's *Social Bibliography* have notes on the introduction of printing into Goa, Ambalakkadu (in Cochin), Tranquebar, Madras, and Bombay, with details concerning the first founts of Tamil, Devanagari, Bengali, Marathi, and Gujarathi typefaces. Page 42 has a note on the pre-journal printing of Raman's famous article in the *Indian Journal of Physics*. And there is an eloquent plea for the application of the principles of analytical bibliography (which have already done so much for the text of the *Mahabharata*) to the writings of Tagore and Gandhi.[1]

Dr. Ranganathan's citation of such works as Bowers' *Principles of Bibliographical Description* and Steck's study of Dryden's *Indian Emperour* show a knowledge of Western scholarship that one might be hard put to match in this country with a comparative knowledge of Eastern bibliographical work.

JOHN COOK WYLLIE

University of Virginia

[1] Since this was written, the Spring 1952 *Harvard Library Bulletin* has appeared with an extremely important article by Georg Schurhammer and G. W. Cottrell, Jr., entitled "The First Printing in Indic Characters" (VI, 147-160). J. C. W.